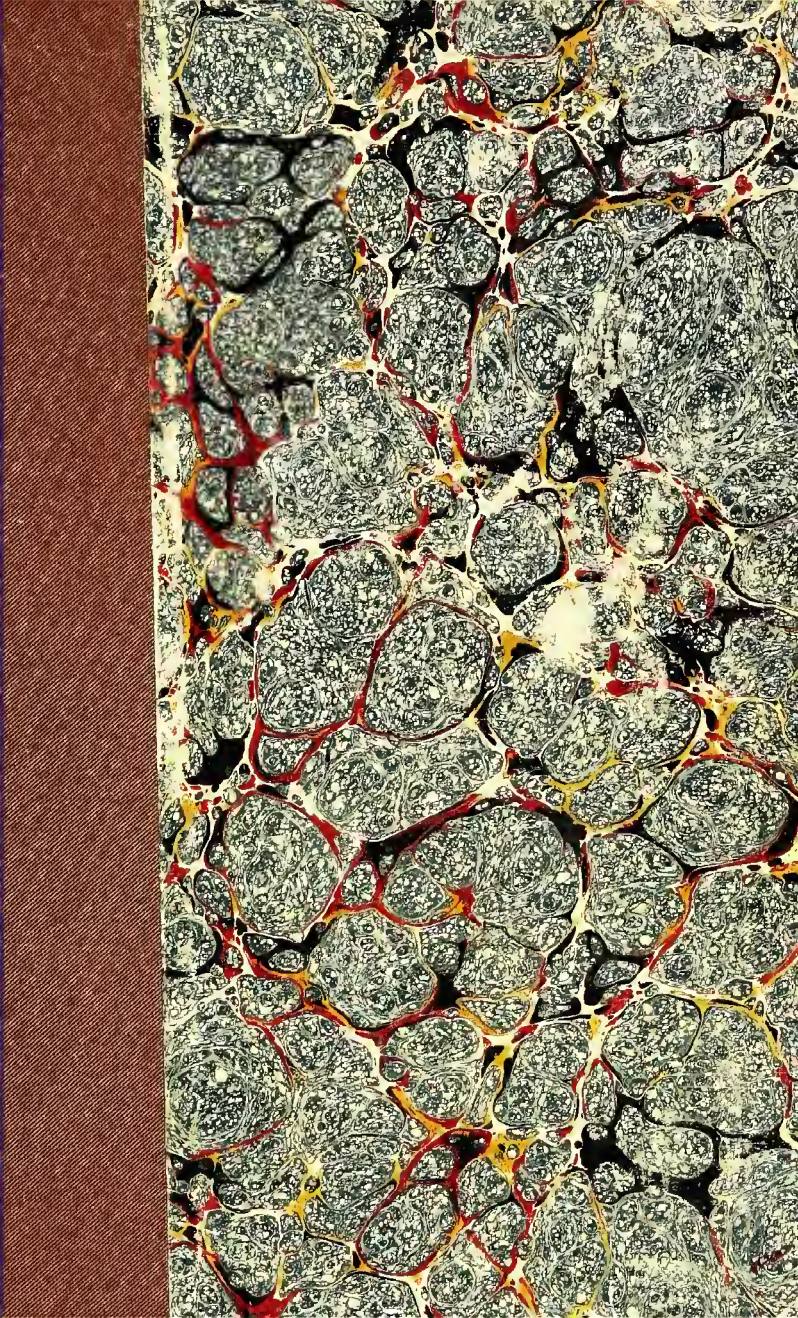




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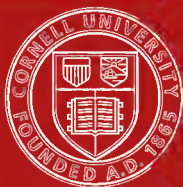
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Crispian Ford.

THE ORGANIC STATE:
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FOR THE CABINET OF
NEWS ❧ ❧ ❧ 1897

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NOTE

This discloses exchange at cost, reaching the universal five-cent fare and telegram; shows the drift of banker and merchant; renders the ultimate form of money; forshadowes the fall of Wall Street; sees the decay of the pawn-shop; determines the future of investment and insurance; deciphers taxation; aligns the trusts; translates art and ethic; foretokens the Cabinet of Intelligence; elevates the church; points to the wire in the school; foretells the disappearance of the legislative body; gives the development of the ballot and legislation; solves the land question; interprets reforms; presages the revision of the Constitution; erects the stable movement in democracy; reflects a stronger government; announces the Whole; is the dream of letters down to the present time.

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NEWS,

Madison Square P. O.,
New York.

PREFACE

The Report is a construction of the State out of existing action. It offers an organic treatment of the various questions and isms that make the present multiplicity of writings and adventures in reform.

It should not be regarded as the ideas of a writer or a book. It is a framed attempt to point out some things in front of us, and in its character is not different from a piece of mechanics. Its importance is that we have arrived at a stage of the social which reveals democracy in its essential and final forms. The Report is the evolution of the State.

We recognize that the cause of the French Revolution was the radical conservatism which denied reforms to tortured France. The guillotine was the fact which blind perversity had stored.

And it has been perceived that the chaos of that world pass and the insufficient results were owing to the lack of preparedness of idea.

Recognizing these as the history of the convulsions of State, students have for some time sought a forecast which should give them at once the warrant for turning upon old conditions of government and furnish them the clear direction out. The study has been to find how the State was dissolving away old bulwarks and what foundations were laying.

Letters, made cautious by its errors in the past, will only attempt utterance on deep-rooted change when such

PREFACE.

change has measurably shaped itself, leaving no doubt as to new forms and new organs of State. The inquirer, bruised by events, waits until there can be no doubt of the bottom lines.

But the student, once cleared as to the new, seeks to convey to men. Amidst the conflicting publicity and confusion of the time the Organic Report is thought to carry the resolving view. On these lines as basic, inquiry may everywhere meet.

In the long wait the great body of the people have turned away because no unfolding thing was offered them, no new measure of equality. Bitter words have been said against the science of government. The name of statesman has been a disrepute. The finger has pointed at the universities as receivers of doctrines for enslaving men. The books have been burned as harboring industrial bondage. But it is thought that the Organic Report works as the closing of the breach between letters and practice in democracy and brings the answer which the people have asked.

NEW YORK, January, 1897.

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The reporter would note on behalf of the Cabinet that the reduction of News, Chapter VIII, was originally worked out in principle by Franklin Ford during his editorship of *Bradstreet's*.

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the local and general Class. The ballot not "secret." The "initiative and referendum" the practical outleading in the Negative.—The Negative as controlling the Class and the individual.—The principle by which the legislation of the Class becomes the legislation of the Whole and by which the Class is responsible for the individual. Illustration of the actual working of the Class legislation. A change of time on the railroads between New York and San Francisco. The defection of a Class. Rebellion in the State. The improbability of pronounced defection. Men love peace. Defection and rebellion within the Class.—The appointing power. Each head supplies his immediate service. The appointing function has the power of removal.—The autonomy of the divisions of the Class and the public. The country in its logical divisions of movement. Illustration of the divisional legislation, or autonomy. The drama of saving the peach crop of Arizona.—The more local autonomy of the Class and the general public. The tendency is to infrequent use of the formal Negative. Public sentiment and commercial demand a corrective of action.—The Constitution. The method of its revision. A specific report by News on the principles of action in democracy. When such report is not negatived by the people it becomes the organic law. The Declaration of Independence a constitutional report not negatived by the people. The convention formulating it the Cabinet of News. The succeeding Constitutional Convention an utterance by the Cabinet of News. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 an outgiving by News as to principle of action in democracy. Mr. Lincoln the central figure of the News Cabinet of 1863. The succeeding amendments to the Constitution. Principles of action in democracy at present undergoing a change. The successive amendments to the Constitution have been in the direction of the adjustment of the private interest to common equity. The new outmoving in action is the further reduction. News now writing the new Constitution. The logical executive.—The politician is the organizer and mollifier of men.—The statesman is the newsman having the discernment of principle on the state of action in democracy.—Interpreting reforms.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE POLICE: THE NEGATIVE ADMINISTRATION

The Police embraces in the one Class the "judiciary" and the "military." The "executive" reduces to policeman.

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THE ORGANIC STATE

CHAPTER I

THE ORGANISM AS A WHOLE ; THE DIALECTIC OF LIFE

The organism is constituted as division of labor. In the animal body, for instance, the hand is able to exist because the stomach digests food, and the stomach is able to exist because the hand brings food. But the stomach is only able to digest or the hand to move, in the full sense, through the related action of all other divisions of labor in the body, as the heart, lungs, kidneys, eye, ear, brain, etc. This division of labor among organs constitutes in principle, or way of life, any given whole of action as organism.

A part gets its meaning as acting for the whole, as acting for all the other parts, as well as for itself; a part has its being as organ or office, in a unity of action. We may see that the action of the stomach has meaning, not as digestion alone, but as directed to the office of supplying elements for the life of all the other organs in the body; the ear has meaning not as hearing in itself only, but as contributing some economy in the life of other organs—the sense of hearing may direct the hand in procuring food for the stomach, or the mental poise which is song may rehabilitate a tired sense. By this it is said that to get the reality, the being, of a thing we state it in terms of *what it does as division of labor*, in terms of a concurrent action or whole.

The individual is a complete division of labor in the organism. The meaning of the Individual is that it cannot be further divided as action. An activity is individual because all other action has been apportioned from it, and carried over to other individuals or organs. The eye is an individual because, through process of evolution, it no longer digests, excretes, hears, thinks for itself, but has all these actions differentiated from it so that it may be individual, undivided, in its action and see for the whole body. The eye is individual, not further divisible, because it is through the highest division, or distinction, evolved from all other specific action. The Individual is at its highest development, the highest distinction as action, when it does one thing well—opposed to doing a number of things indifferently.

The law, or method, by which an organism attains its fullest being is the division of labor, or individuality, which centralizes intelligence: its expression is as the interchange, or commerce, which is motion: it discovers philosophy, the instrument of the fuller consciousness, the fuller report in life, to be the practice of the sensorium or centralization in democracy. Intelligence in its type is the nerve reflex; that is, the full circuit, or in and out movement, of sense. The organization, or centralization, of the nerve reflex is the animal sensorium; it affords the way for the ultimate, or highest expression of the individual. For through consciousness, the individual develops a more intimate and mobile division of labor with life; the very notion of the reflex underlying consciousness is the more efficient response, or division of labor, through motion. This demands motion as principle in the fuller expression of the individual—consciousness. If we reduce mind to curiosity, clearly the underlying manifestation of its active projection, we may see that it follows the law of all motion, namely, reaction in proportion as it is affected by contact with external conditions. And, in general, the very notion of the organism, as commerce of function, comprehends the principle of motion: function is that movement which is the perpetual interchange of life.

Distance, through motion, is revealed as essential expression of contact ; it is the mode by which all things, not a few things, are in contact, that is, in that working relation which is reaction. The truth of this is instanced in the solar system, the social body, the animal body ; also the molecules of a piece of iron or other solid, now held to be in motion.

Life thus hingeing in its parts as a whole of reaction, or motion, we see that if we can establish its reaction in any *part* in mind, it would follow that life as a *whole* has its reaction or manifestation in mind. In other words, we would find that the development of all life as division of labor, or organism, is towards expression in consciousness. To this end, we may see that a stone constitutes a division of labor, or organ, in the particular expression of mind which we call being conscious of a stone ; the centralized reflex, or sensorium, constitutes the other organ, or factor, of this particular expression, or action. In the last effect, or highest division of labor, as joined to the sensorium, the stone, a phase of existence producing reaction in mind, may be said to have its final expression as consciousness. The stone does not of itself think, neither does the unsensed, or inexperienced, of mind itself think. It is the action which is division of labor between the sensorium and the stone that constitutes the expression called thought, or sense ; and so with any other division of labor between the sensorium and the contributory external action constituting thought. Consciousness is the meaning, or resulting action, of a joint division of labor, between external thing and sensorium, just as digestion is the meaning of the division of labor between stomach and food. Neither external thing nor mind are known in the fullness of the expression of life, except in their joint action called consciousness ; and the external thing become knowledge, attains its own fulfilment, or highest expression, as this joint action. Thus it is that all life rises to a centralized intelligence, finding its fulfilment in the widest expression of sense—the organization of men as social body. It is

according to this, in the notion of philosophy, that life is said to find its attainment, or objective, in consciousness.

We may more technically state the unity of life with reference to the reduction of the instrument of its report, philosophy. We say that if mind cannot express itself without being effected in sense by the external, then the latter is a necessary part of the action called consciousness, and, as organ, *absolutely expresses itself in, or acts as phase of, consciousness*. The thing-world, as having part in sense expression, is in division of labor with that organ, or that factor, of intelligence which is called the *self*, distinguished from the thing-world as factor in consciousness, which is the *not-self*; the self and the not-self, to attain their expression are joined as division of labor in the sense. This may be said to be the development of the Aristotelian, Christian, Kantian, Hegelian, and Caird philosophy in terms of the organism, in terms of action as division of labor, in its widest reach coping with the whole of life. It is the advance of Hegel and Caird to terms of motion, since we have seen function as that interchange of reaction which is motion. It should be said that these men wrote up to this point; and such development, with all its antecedent philosophy, may be pleasantly found in the last half of Caird's little book "Hegel" (Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, Lippincott).

If the subject matter of philosophy thus reduces to the social whole, or State, we may see that the tendency of philosophy in its practical reduction is toward politics, that is, the practical outgiving of the principles, or ways, of organization in democracy. Philosophy reduces to the practical study of the "many in the one," the many in the whole, as operative in the economic State—the practical study of the parts as organs operative in the social whole. The hand upon the dial points to this time as the coming to consciousness of the State through the attainment of its sensorium in philosophy as practical letters, or practical report of life in the ways of its fuller organism, democracy.

A society, or system, is that organism which is a community of individuals interdependent through their individuality, or division of labor. Society, or system, comprehends an active relation of parts in a whole. The evolution of the individual is the active cohesion, or life, of the organism. The eye having become separated from digestion, to that extent which is its own individuality as division of labor, has become dependent upon the stomach for its existence, and so upon other functions in the community of action, or society, called the animal body. In the society which is the social whole, or State, the differentiation, for instance, of the shoemaker and the farmer into functional individuals has made them dependent upon each other. Division of labor is the insoluble bond of union in society. We find in this a basis of meaning for the saying that we love our neighbor as ourselves—it is the law of self-preservation.

The highest organism of which we have fuller knowledge, democracy, is here viewed in its immediate organs, the Classes, and their subdivision, the individual man. The Classes comprehend the classification of the State on its different lines of action. The law of evolution holding, that the higher organism carries the types of the lower, we may be helped more clearly to the organs, or Classes, by discovering and putting upon the social body the parallels of the animal body, in the more distinguishing features. As, we say that the excretory function of the animal body has its parallel in that aggregation of men and machinery in the State comprising the Class Hygiene, and having within its own organism such organs as the scavenger and bacteriologist. Or, we contemplate the Transportation Class as the food circulation in the State, with its internal divisions of labor, such as train-dispatcher and engineer. We look at the banks, the Exchange Class, as the ganglia of circulation—the sympathetic system, effecting exchange, or balance, of nutrition in the social body. It has certain of its divisions in the bank president and bank teller. The Mail Class is the carrier of intelligence—the sense circulation of the social body, having divisions

in the postmaster-general and the delivery clerk. To determine democracy in the effective, or culminating, manifestation of itself as organism, we have to recognize the Class which centralizes knowledge in the State. As indicated, this is the division of labor which is the sensorium, or organized intelligence in the State, being its cerebrum, or head as a whole. This last realizing and ordering function in democracy can be no other than the Organic Letters, being the office of publicity—the News-Office in life. Its business, as Class, is to explain life, that is, bring life to consciousness in its method, or law, of action. Philosophy turned upon the actual life, we have regarded as the central figure, or division, of this organ; the rank and file is the great body of writers and reporters having its divisions.

From this we see that the organ of the State is the Class, having within itself many lesser individuals, or contributory organs. It follows that an organ may itself become an individual in a larger individual action, or organism. Thus, the organism Man, becomes an individual in the Class.

Man, the common application of the term individual, is intimately responsible to the Class, and is regulated by it, the law of the whole. For the State exists, not of itself as abstraction, but through the operation of its individual organs, the working external and internal relations of which make the governing social laws. Note that an apparently conflicting case, the disposal of the criminal, which is seemingly administered directly by the State as a whole, is really given over to a Class, the division of Corrections and Asylums.

It is self-evident that to determine first the organ, or Class, in the State, we have to differentiate, or separate from it, all action that may better be given over to other divisions. To determine further the organ, we have to gather under one head and see as constituting concerted action, all the parts that may work together as one organ to the economy or betterment of the other Classes.

Property, or material action, tends to be interpreted in

the functional or universal sense, as wider economic bearing (public), instead of as holdings (private) apart from universal or functional demand in the State; it tends to interpretation as use in full division of labor (public), instead of withholdings (private) from full demand upon it as division of labor; value in a thing is its office as division of labor. So called natural products joined in division of labor to human intelligence may create a function, or factor of action, which is a broom; but the broom or broom-making has no meaning as *partial* division of labor, not joined in completed action as fulfilling demand in the State; to be real, valuable, it must be joined in sweeping. There might be also joined to the broom-making, the distribution and warehouse function of storage; but this act of distribution has no meaning except as remotely or nearly joined to sweeping. The accident of distribution which would seek to withhold a broom from use to get more than cost on it can be seen only as obstruction or disaster of function. The "profit" margin, beyond the exact support of function, beyond exact cost of creation and distribution, is feudal, or part-isan—the Part (private) in conflict with the Whole (public). Again, the engineer is joined to such factors as produce the beacon light on the coast. He can only possess the lighthouse, or what is its actuality, the light, when everybody else possesses it. The lighthouse hoarded, possessed out of its action, he would not have any lighthouse at all, it would lose its meaning. Possession merely, or privately, is thus not the possession of reality. It is only when he employs the lighthouse that the engineer has its value, and not of itself but as beacon light; and he cannot employ it for himself, unless he employs it for all. A man can not employ an apple strictly for his own private ends. To attempt this is to subtract all meaning from it. If he eats it, regarding it for himself alone, he has not strictly withdrawn it from public use. He eats it to live. Now, whether he is conscious of it or not, he lives for something. This something is his own relation or place in life. He cannot have place without he gives something in return for

what he receives. If he exists at all it must be as reaction in relation to his surroundings. He has thus used the apple for the whole. And this is the ultimate goal of all analysis of use—that is, all use has the end which is essential, or economic, relation to life. Finally, if any construe ownership as private control of public use, it has its meaning in lifting the individual himself into public use.

Property (propriety of use) must thus be seen as function in that economic sense which promotes easy action in the State at a given phase of contact. Stay of use by possession, as holding strictly, is congestion, or stasis—is destruction of property, or use. And we can here more forcibly bring home to ourselves the disaster and total subtraction of value which results from the view of property as private—privat(e)ion relative to the whole—by conceiving the Judiciary constructed on the present concept of holdings in the State. Suppose, simply, that the judge acted upon the dictum that obstruction of the State is business, holding his decision indefinitely on his own pleasure, and for “private” advantage.

The only view that makes the present holdings real is to render them in terms of their more evident function, which would be to regard them as in trusteeship for the whole. This is a trusteeship in degree abused, because not answerable to the demand of the whole as is the judge in his decision. Mr. Astor, for instance, diverts large sums from his holdings as trusteeship, without making any accounting to the whole.

Failure to see value as function in the State begets a loose thinking. Robert Ingersoll recently said that Government cannot create money, that the value must be inherent in the medium of exchange. This is the denial of action and is equivalent to saying that use cannot create, or condition, reality. He fails to see that what a thing does is what a thing is. In the same connection Mr. Ingersoll said, “A bill of fare is not a dinner.” He could as well say that a fire is not a dinner. The fire and the bill of fare are in the dinner, are parts of the action

we call a meal. In the same travesty upon the unity of life, this doctrinaire of liberty could say that a bed is not a sleep, a razor not a shave, a liver not a man. The "intrinsic" which Mr. Ingersoll holds to in the gold, or which some one holds to in the silver, is in reality a division of labor on the part of these particulars which has force only if moved on to its full function, as exchange or the arts. We put to ourselves whether it is not the *idea* of use in gold which gives its value? Whether "intrinsic" is not the *idea* of office which we put into a thing? The calculus, words printed upon paper, has "intrinsic" value beyond much gold when regarded with the idea of use. We ask if gold would have value if we take away the social meaning in it; that is, take away the idea of use relative to a need by some one who is an item in the State. The broom, the gold, the calculus, the lighthouse and the legal decision are in themselves deprived, or depraved, divisions of labor, and have no value strictly as such, but only when habilitated with the idea of full division of labor. The anachronism of failing concepts sees value in partial or abortive action, instead of full action, or function. To recast their concepts such have to ask themselves where the *part* originally got its "intrinsic," its value. Did it not get it from the whole, of which it is a part?

Let such recast the notion of a man's house, held as private property. The value of the house is not possession but employment or control of it by this man in his action, necessarily public—action necessarily public because a man cannot act outside of the State. He built the house with the notion of equalizing conditions in life, of which a bare shelter is the narrowest view. He built the house and uses it that he may be an efficient member of democracy—that he may be a man. He built the house under the exactions of the State, as impelled and conditioned by it. He put into the house the idea of his relation, or place, in the social body, thus carrying over to the house whatever meaning, or value, it possesses. He extended life in a sum which is the house and its im-

plications; in such part he built the State; so far as the uses of the house go he created the State. And this is the value of the house, namely, a piece of action jointly in a community of men. Furthermore, we know that the man did not build the house alone; the State fed and clothed him while he worked; other labor supplied him tools and material. The thing was impossible outside of a connected life. He is a factor in a whole of action which resulted in building the house, just as in another direction it resulted in making a legal decision. We know by this that the State itself built the house, using the man as one among a thousand contributory items in it just as it used the judge in the legal decision. And as the latter is public, or disposable by the public, so is the house.

The partial views begotten of the disorganic concept of things are the measure of the low popular consciousness of the organism, to be noted on every hand, including the public press. We marvel at the tenacity of thought, now slowly passing, which regards the basic control of a thing as private, when its total value was acquired from the social. We ask ourselves if the State, to attain its freedom, or expression, will not ultimately have to recognize property as use, not possession. That is, will not a man, as proprietor, be regarded as holding title to a thing only while he can directly employ it economically, either for his own immediate use, as factor of the State, or as answering other direct economic demand, in opposition to mere holdings? Will a man be allowed to use a thing in a way obstructive to public welfare? Already the State has gone far in this direction. It exacts a man's farm for public use when his holdings conflict with the construction of a highway—the right of eminent domain. A man builds a bridge, but he cannot hold it; his holding is conditioned by the public need. He possesses the bridge so far as he can use it, no more. No one can displace his proper use of it, but there his possession ends. Does not the popular consciousness tend to go clear over to this interpretation of all property? We ask ourselves whether we are not passing the withholding or

hoarding stage, that is, the right to possession in conflict with the better interests of the people? Can we ultimately regard a house any differently than the judge does his decision or the engineer does his bridge? Must not the holder in every instance regard the tenure of his possession as a question of economic use in the social? In line with this, can a man or a Class controlling a house rent it for more than cost?—that is, enough to return its exact construction and running care and repair. Can such obstruct its use, destroy its value, by the imposition of a private tax, called profit? Can a Class having a hat to sell exact more for it than its cost, in all that this rationally implies, thus obstructing, destroying, it as property—despoiling it as free use at cost, impairing its exact division of labor in the State?

For answer we may watch the public prints or other utterances for the rising state of consciousness touching the organism—seen in a practical sense in the degree in which the popular voice demands equality of distribution of the products of labor. We examine the many labor publications, to find that they lean to control of all larger action by the public interest, thus more inclining to interpret property as public use. The vote cast for Mr. Bryan in '96 should be light-making; arrayed against him, with lines more or less distinctly drawn, was the feudal concept, or the domination of the whole by the individual in the private holdings. The movement in the State has for some time betokened a deepening sense. Are not the strenuous party overturnings of the last decade the restless stirrings of a new consciousness and a new birth? The danger, as in all history, is that it will be obstructed by the old concepts until it breaks violently through. It is hard for the king to die. It may be that we thus discern the approach of the final reduction of democracy, foreshadowing the next Constitutional Convention in its disposition of the question of property—the great question of the equation of life. The once invincible dogma of the economists that “private gain is the stimulus to exertion,” is, in view of the need of life, met

by the dictum in kind, that self-preservation is the stimulus.

Ethic is the freedom of the individual attained through organization, or division of labor;—it is one with morality, considered as ordered action. Slavery has to be measured by the disorganization in life, having its meaning in confinement of action. An individual that obstructs his neighbor not only enslaves him, but takes the bonds, or restrictions of the resulting disorder upon himself. The ethic, or effective life, of an individual is determined by the degree of freedom in action, as the consequence of order. If a clerk or a school teacher or a blacksmith is hampered by improper cooking or incompetent railroad service or newspaper lying, he may be said to suffer abridgment in his being; he lives that much less. Ethic, as enlarged conditions, may be seen as the efficient life in exchange of service, the equipoise of action. In this commerce, ethic is seen as good business; the life that lives up to its day.

CHAPTER II

THE POST : INTELLIGENCE CARRIER

The Post Office has its distinction as that organ which is the common carrier of intelligence in the State as a whole. Its physiological parallel appears as sense transmission—the nerves of democracy. Belonging to the Post Office as efficient organ are all the avenues of carrying intelligence, mail-bag, telegraph, telephone, etc.

The office of the mail in relation to the whole determines its organization within itself ; it must be a complete working part of the whole and not complicated with other organs or parts of organs. In this we require to uncover the line of cleavage between the Post Office by rail, in the carrying of its pouch of written and printed matter, and the regular transportation of passengers and freight. The distinction between the two turns on the question of what intelligence is in its essential character, and what its medium as instrument of carriage necessarily is. Intelligence in its essential character is active intelligence, or economic communication in the State. This may be deferred in its fuller treatment to the chapter on the Intelligence Industry. It is sufficient to know here that the essential intelligence in life is the communication, from whatever source, that meets some immediate want of men. And that is the more strictly intelligence which has its character shaped on the demand in life. The demand is for the least delay in communication of any fact ; men do not wish to wait very long for a fact which they may need. And the intelligence, answering to this need, that has prompt communication is the active and essential intelligence, relative to the movement of any day. The cleavage between intelligence and freight is that the old thing, or the thing that men already know

or do not immediately want, is removed from intelligence in its active type, and in so far in its carriage it approaches freight, or transportation proper. The cleavage between intelligence carriage and freight carriage in the absolute, therefore, is between the more active or instant communication and the less active; in short, is between the wire and the car. And the mail-bag has its distinction from freight in proportion as it works in the more active communication, or in such measure as it approaches the type of the active intelligence carriage, the wire.

The reality of this may best be gained in the development of communication. There was a time when the vehicle of communication had low differentiation in the State; this stage was when a messenger rode from one point to another in a canoe, or walked, or rode a cow or a donkey. A later differentiation was the letter-pouch in the boot of the stage-coach. Steam furthered the differentiation down to the postal railway car. But latterly the essentially active communication has passed to the electric wire, the attained medium of intelligence. In the lower development of the State, communication had its physiological parallel in the low differentiation of the molecules of the animal body, before the nervous element had separated itself from the slower physiological side; the later attainment of the type of communication in the State, the wire, has its advanced physiological parallel in the nerve. Having thus cleared the medium of the later communication, as the instant, or electric, we see that the transportation of intelligence by the railroad car is but a left-over phase which still lingers in the slow process of growth. This indicates that ultimately the whole movement of active communication, or intelligence proper will be by the telephone and telegraph or their congeners in electricity. Already to the dweller in the city, and in some country districts, the bulletin-boards and the news-tickers, and the telephone and telegraph in private houses, have made most of the matter in the newspapers hours old before it is delivered in the slower form. It has thus ceased to be intelligence in its essential aspect. And the

tendency is also on this line in personal communication. More and more the people are discarding letter-writing and using the wire or the telephone. Any general large advance waits on cheaper rates—the cost service. In some of the states of Europe and in New Zealand the telephone is much displacing written communication. In Sweden pretty near everybody now has a telephone in the house. And the public stations are extensively employed. The charge for the instrument in the house, office, or shop in local service is as low as \$15.00 yearly. The minimum charge at the public stations for distance service is four cents. This reduction on long distance rates is due to the government ownership of the trunk lines, though it has not yet settled to cost service. The consideration is not so much how far the movement is advanced, but rather that it is advancing and that the tendency is away from the slower conditions in the handling of intelligence proper.

In the remove from quicker process of transportation, printed and written matter is seen to lapse from intelligence to become freight, as conditioned in its character by demand and manipulation, being out of the channel of the exactions of intelligence strictly. And it only returns within the pale of intelligence as action through some after use of it, some new creation of it relative to demand. As, some fact in life may need enlargement and a person goes to an encyclopædia or history which in itself is a piece of freight but by virtue of this demand upon it in some adjustment of fact it is raised into the instant intelligence. That is, this piece of freight has become an element of intelligence owing to conditions of readjustment of fact either in a larger or smaller movement. It has become intelligence by its use. A person wishing to convey a fact about a peach may go to a box and take up the peach itself. This peach becomes part, or factor, in intelligence through entering into active use in communication. But in itself, it is freight. So the book or other printed page out of active use reverts to the essential character of freight. What we therefore

hold before us as news or intelligence, is the instant adjustment of fact amongst men which as such makes cleavage from other phase of carriage, the latter having its character in transportation proper, or the freight and passenger business.

It is seen in this that communication is not yet fully developed, or freed. In its partial differentiation much of the instant movement is still retarded to go by freight. Ultimately, the intelligence business proper will in its fullness carry, or circulate, by the nerve of the State, the wire. The Post in England has taken over the wire; but this does not universally obtain. Nor is the wire freed in England on the cost basis. Telegrams in the United Kingdom go at twelve cents; the possibility is one penny. The English telegraph is paying interest on a fictitious investment and is carrying high salaries; and, as with the mail in this country, it is used to support other branches of the government service.

It follows that in general the Post Office is retarded in gathering to itself, organizing, under one head all its instruments, or parts; it is retarded in fuller function. We have to inquire what is obstructing its organization. We see as such the private interest which attempts to preserve the feudalism of a "capitalist" faction in the telegraph and telephone stock, a control exercised against the interests of the State. It is the private tax on communication.

We see as further obstructive a phase of the private interest which trades on the feudal lease of office, the baronial interference in the affairs of men. The Presidential appointment of heads of departments in the Post Office, reaching down through these to employees, does not allow the Post Class as a body to exercise its own technical control, that is, does not allow the Class to elect its officers, and so become responsible to the people for the organization and conduct of the mails. It is as though a man ignorant of music should be allowed to appoint a leader of an orchestra, in some outworn political usage, and the orchestra be looked to for good music.

The Post Office is advanced in organization and has the impetus to full order. Its parts are well along and it has attained to a centralized intelligence, working under a single comprehensive head. The country is marked by postal divisions. Each such department has its chief of mails, with its department headquarters. Such chiefs and their several territories get their general direction from the national superintendent of mails. The divisions are answerable to his bureau in their action. The organ as a whole thus centralizes in the national superintendent.

The postmaster-general stands in one light as the medium of communication for specific demands of the public upon the mails through its national superintendent. In other respects the postmaster-general represents the partisan, or feudal, interest engaged in serving private demands upon the mails in the way of appointments, franking privilege and contracts. His chief activity, as nominal head, may be best set down as interfering with the real head, the real postmaster-general—the national superintendent of mails.

The Post Office has a chief mark of organization, however, in its well-nigh exact service to the public. It is shaped, or organed, the present stage considered, to successfully cope with the public demand upon it. But for the outside interference in its affairs, which we have noted, it must speedily advance to the wire and service at cost.

And this tendency pushes ahead. Different chiefs of service have tried to carry through important measures forwarding the organization. Former Postmaster-General Vilas attempted to cut off the robbery of the service by the railroads, for carriage of mails. The government now pays the roads for this carriage sixteen times what the express companies pay for equivalent matter, though they go on the same train and in the same car. Former Postmaster-General Wanamaker attempted a three-cent telegraph and telephone service. To the end of reduction in postage, managers at various times have sought to relieve the service of the support of other

departments, put upon the mails through the franking act. The impetus is strongly toward the highest quality of service and the organization which it involves.

Farther advance in organization must overcome the narrow private interest. This means a growth in the public consciousness, the ballot, sufficient to subordinate the private interest where it is most viciously obstructive. The movement would take practical shape in the government ownership of telegraph, telephone and any other means of transmission.

Touching possible advance in organization of the Post Office, along with other phases of the State, we watch the public utterance showing degree of awaking of popular consciousness as subjecting the private interest. Public consciousness shows some advance. A party leader, Mr. Truman of New York, recently made the remarkable statement that the bond-holders were preventing the extension of the Post Office, the reference being to the holdings of the Western Union and Bell Telephone stock. Expression on every hand is growing against the aggressiveness of the private interest in the large corporations. The movement known as the Populist party cast in '96 approximately one-tenth of the whole national vote for avowed government ownership, in railroads, telegraphs and mines. That the private interest is more on the defensive in every direction is to be taken as a sign of the awakening.

In line with the growing consciousness, we see in recent years the attempt of the state legislatures to fix maximum rates in the public service. The whole anti-trust legislation of recent years, state and national, as antagonizing corporate combination is of course directed against overcharge in public service, organically all service being public. But the most direct outmoving has been the attempt to specifically fix a lower maximum rate in some of the western states, notably Nebraska and Dakota.

The discussion involved in the attempt of the public to control and subject the corporations reveals the nature of

the primary contract and tends to raise the organism. The private interest in its resistance has gone to the courts. The corporations meet the attempts to control them by the assertion that reduction of their returns of profits is impairment of contract and dispossession of property without valid process of law. It does not appear that the legislatures in their attempts to regulate the rates of the railroads have sought to reduce the tariff below a fair interest on the actual investment for construction. The claim of impairment and dispossession made by the railroad attorneys is based on the excessive bonding of the road, with obligation to pay the face and interest of the so-called watered shares, that is, stock above the cost of building the road. The answer to this by the State's attorney is that all bonding of the road above legitimate cost and all unreasonable salaries or other expenditures in the conduct of the road represents theft by the corporation and should be outlawed. It is asserted that an earlier "impairment of contract and dispossession without valid process of law" was made when the railroads committed this theft; and the claim is made further that the courts should no longer protect injustice in its hiding under technicality in violation of the showing in the case.

In some directions the courts lean toward agreement with this, evincing a disposition to confine the railroads to returns of profit on the actual investment, virtually regarding the watered stock and the trick of unreasonable expenditures as fraud. Some of the western courts have sustained the acts of the legislatures fixing the maximum rates. But whatever attitude the courts for the moment may take it is clear that they are halting and divided in their decisions, under the old notion of property as granting privileges to the individual to set up any trick of ostensible legality and play it against the public good.

In the prevailing confusion by the courts, the newspapers and the college professors touching the right of the State to interfere against some claim of contract hedging the people in, there are signs of a disposition to go back to the base of the Constitution wherein the State

contracts with the individual to give him a form of government that secures him equality of external conditions. The disposition is to interpret the declaration of our principles of government as a contract with the individual to afford him that equation which is opportunity of service and its corresponding benefits, that is, returns on labor. The inquiry begins to be put whether any creation of legislation or legal technicality can stand against this basic contract which existed at the birth and involves the continued life of democracy. But there remains the assertion by the corporation attorneys that the men who made the Constitution could not have meant this, that their reference to the scope and force of contracts is specifically and distinctly stated, the study of the discussion and the conditions of the time showing this. It is answered that the most fundamental reference in the written Constitution and the discussion relating to it is the question of equality of rights; and that no secondary clause in the instrument can override this when the two conflict. With the rise of the sacredness of contract, through its assertion by the corporations, the people are disposed in all ways to go back to first contracts.

Whatever the makeshift of the courts in their present quandary over the interpretation of rights it is certain that they will ultimately encounter the question of the absolute status of the individual, in relation to the whole and of the whole to the individual under the original contract of the State. They will be asked to define how far later falsities of contract have impaired this contract and dispossessed these two of their primary rights. For it is clear that the consciousness of the nation is evolving its own interpretation of rights and that it is thinking of asking a return of its own under the original writing.

When the courts and the people finally face the question of the exact status of the impairment of contract and of dispossession and are thus carried back to the underlying compact which is the concept of the State itself, they must regard the individual in the light of his part, as

action, in the State. If, therefore, the absolute reduction of the individual is as contract, or relation, of Part to Whole, any secondary contract between individuals specifically, in conflict with this, is in subversion of the organic law—is impairment of the basic contract uttered in the Declaration of 1776 and in the succeeding Constitution—the underlying formula of rights and of democracy.

If the courts and the people yield to this analysis and ask themselves for its application, an inquiry at once arises as to the working status of the individual and the whole under the basic contract. This has to accord with the underlying consideration set forth. If, therefore, the State cannot recognize a contract as absolute when between individuals as such then the process between the individuals must be as agents of the whole. The question of exchange, of barter and trade, between two people in a strictly private capacity enlarges itself, to give place to the relation of two agents of the whole. Of this relation, the clerk at the postal window selling stamps to a messenger from the organic banking Class would afford an example. The contract, or process, arising between individuals must find its limitations on the one side in the rights of the whole relative to the individual and, on the other side, of the individual relative to the whole. But we are to keep in sight that the status of the individual is as working part or instrument of the whole, as reasonable service in the State. He does a day's work. And this service of the individual must mean adjustment of the part to the whole, or vice-versa, being the law of their realization. The individual works on the job he can do best, the State giving him the conditions of being, or action—what he needs to do good work. So that the expression of exchange of values under the absolute contract between the individual and the State, is that the latter gives to the individual his wage and all that it implies as conditions of being, or life, and in return the individual gives his life, or service to his job, as to the State. We know that the part cannot receive from the

whole more than is sufficient to keep it an able instrument, —since that is the meaning of the part. And we know that the State can give no less than what is needful to the part, since it is the meaning of the whole that it exists by efficient parts. This attains to the best exchange possible, and makes the essential definition of the primary status of each.

In the practical reduction of this we see that the individual gives his service to the State in his exact share of the amount of work to be done. He does his part of the whole number of hours' work each day. This day's work is figured by dividing the whole number of hours' work of a day by the whole number of able bodied workers, except the percentage sick or regularly absent on vacation. And on the other side there is guaranteed, through the agents of the State to the individual, food, clothing, shelter, recreation, and other support sufficient to make him an efficient member. The State figures this support on the ratio of the sum of all its members, to the total cost of supplying them. The problem is, of course, the simple one of finding one man's wage, or support, by dividing the total expenditure of the State by the number of people, not excepting those under working age, those decrepit, and those on vacation. This is the equalizing of wage, or returns of labor.

Exact definition of impairment of contract, therefore, must come to mean disturbance of this primary relation, or proceeding, between the man and the State. And dispossession must come to mean any debarring or curtailment, any deprivation from the privilege of that service or work which is the life of the individual and in turn the life of the State. Impairment of contract and dispossession work at once equally upon both.

Continuing the reduction in its application, we see that any proceeding in trade, or exchange, which collects more than the exact cost of production is violation of the primary contract in the State. This is true because a man's wage is figured in the cost of production. This wage, the equal wage of every man, is all that one can

exact under the terms of the contract—being the support of the individual based on the average cost of living. Any charge on products passing through a person's hands which seeks to collect more than this direct wage is so much stolen from the State and is in so far infringement of the contract and dispossession of the State, and through it, dispossession of the individual.

To the objection, arising under the old concepts, that one man's work is more difficult or more valuable than another's, the answer is made that such a concept is a violation of the primary contract. Those making such objection have to be reminded that the State does not recognize ratios, or relations, between individuals; but between the individual and the whole. Any other relation is seen to confuse this relation and obstruct its working. The practical answer is, further, that the State through a long turmoil worked out of the confusion and inequality resulting from this view, coming finally to the clearer light that the State cannot sustain itself on the basis of a status, or contract, between individuals as such; that, through the logic of action, it is compelled to have resort to the relation of the individual to the whole, the practical operation of which we are endeavoring to reduce.

It thus in the main becomes clear that if the courts and people are to move in this relation it must be in the direction of the primary interpretation of the formula of democracy itself. Cases like the recent ones attempting to fix the maximum charges of the railroads, when coming to the courts, must tend to meet the primary adjudication. The bench, confronted with the growing order, must latterly tend to go further than to limit the corporations to interest returns on the actual investment. The tendency must be to raise the primary contract and declare that the railroad corporations, having their parallel in all corporations, cannot exact from the public more than the cost of creating the road and continuing it in operation, this to include abundant support, or wage, to all men in the Railroad Class as based upon equality of wage throughout the State. The answer of the courts to the

claim of the corporations that in this decision they are dispossessed of the original investment, is that such moneys represent a previous dispossession which the State suffered under infringement of the original contract. The court can say that these moneys may now stand as previous payment of the cost of construction of the roads by the people. The reply of the court is further that it is disposed to regard the past private control of these moneys in the light of a trusteeship upon which the State now exacts accounting, to determine whether the people paid exactly the cost of construction. In those cases where the balance is against the trustee the court can say that it is disposed to parole the delinquent under a general amnesty of the State, and in consideration of certain undoubted quality in past service. This is the organic handling, whatever form it may take.

The first practical adjustment on these lines, the phase of advance now pressing upon the courts, is of course the cutting clear of watered shares and reducing rates to a "fair profit" on exact value of the roads, or the holdings of other corporations. It may be said that the consciousness of the State is now approaching this point.

Any assertion of the rights of the whole in subordination of the part, as seen in this curtailment of the corporation by the commonwealth, must tend directly towards the completion of the Post, and not alone this organ but all other organs of democracy. It must tend to this because it is so far the return to normal of the overlying private interest which we have seen as obstructive to the outmoving organization. And, if the outlet toward government ownership of the telegraphs and railroads is by purchase, as cheaper than building them, a first step is to reduce the inflated figures.

We look for the attitude of publicity respecting outmovement. The newspapers, dividing the public action with their hue and cry, obstruct the advance, or fuller organization, of the Post Office, declaring that it will, by increase of office-holding, perpetuate in power the incumbent party. This is the distrust of government by party

organization ; it amounts to a declaration that the principle inhering in it is now obstructive in the State—that government by party organization is passing its usefulness and is a decaying form of government, no longer lending advance.

The question which we then put to ourselves is as to what new organs of government are disclosed. These are the Classes, in their fuller organization. In the confessed failure of party organization, we invite Class control. The pressure upon us is, for instance, to give the Post Office its own technical control and allow it to gather to itself all its machinery for effective service as may be, the Post class to make its own appropriations by fixing the price of postage at sufficient to cover expenses, be it less or more. This takes the mails away from the partisans. The answer to the fear of office-holding is, therefore, the proposition to make everybody an "office-holder." Under the injunction of the newspaper to distrust party organization, we turn to a new order in the State, the organization of labor in each of its specializations.

The feudal editor, the ready essay writer, standing for partisan opinion, sees in the technical control by the Class the principle which is moving in upon his preserves ; he foresees that he may have to maintain his place in letters by actual and skilled reporting of the fact instead of authoritative juggling in opinion ; or he feels that the principle of Class organization is against manipulating place in letters through favors of the newspaper counting-room, the obstructive private interest. Facing the organism, it is borne in upon him that position in letters may some day be removed from the accidental. And, again, it is the dying to old concepts that is hard with the feudal writer. We may see in the halting conditions the pathos which accompanies advancement.

Scrutiny shows that the newspapers for the most part seem ignorant of the meaning of democracy as an organism—they act more on the lead that it is a public hold-up. The consciousness of the newspaper is so low that it

has no clear notion of the great need of everywhere subordinating the private interest to the whole. The papers suppress and misinterpret facts when they conflict with the private interest, being illustration of the narrow individualism which does not see its own interest as promoted by advancing the whole; the counting-room, in the obstructive property sense, is always in view. Somewhat in the words of Mr. Morley, applied to Bazire in his "Robespierre," the newspapers identify government with organized speculation. Working under the old concepts, they cannot extend the principle of property which is seen in the Brooklyn Bridge or the Philadelphia Docks—use for everybody, as far as anybody's needs go. The newspapers, for the most part, work by the whole in their interpretations only so far as it does not conflict with the private eccentricity. They do not yet raise organic truth into principle of universal proceeding in publicity.

In the histories of the Post Office, to be found in the libraries and bookstores, one can study the rise of the transmission of intelligence. It will be noted how the institution gradually individualized, or classed, its action into a unified organ of the whole. Such unity as exists in the Post Office has been realized through the law of the growth of organisms—a gradual development toward a centralized function, or head.

We ask the interpretation of property, or ownership, in the Post Class. The real property, expressed in action, is of course the function of intelligence carrying. The divisions of labor, or parts of this property, are the factors in life that in any way contribute to it; they are the mailman, the letter-bag, the postal-car, the hatter, the clothier, the food-man, and so on to every phase of labor. In this view it cannot be said that the Post Class owns the function of mail carrying, since it is realized only in terms of the action of the whole: it belongs to the State as such whole of action.

In the principle which makes property the organized action of the whole, is seen the control of the Class by the whole. Suppose the food-men, the clothiers, the builders,

etc., each to be as closely organized as we determine the ultimate Post Class to be. They can then only act through their general rules of service. It follows that if the former do not get their letters promptly the mail-men, through general orders shutting off trade with them, will not get food, clothing, housing, etc. Once erect machinery on this principle for the convenient lodgment of complaints in divisional heads, affording an accompanying publicity, and the Class is in the relation of exact adjudication to the whole.

If we study the reality of the postage stamp as phase of organization we see in it the economic book-keeping, or check on trade. The local postmaster turns in an equivalent of money for the stamps he requires, covering the running need of his locality. There is no further book-keeping except for the central office to set down in a column the amount of stamps sold to the postmaster, that the aggregate may be known, or that casual reference may be made to the transaction. It is a cash trade. The postmaster cannot misuse the stamps, because they are only good in their proper use. He cannot overcharge for them, because their face is their value, which everybody recognizes. Self-interest keeps the record clean: the postmaster requires return of money for the stamps he sells, and the customer insists on stamps for the money he pays out. This indicates possible reduction in the entire exchange medium of the country, carrying it over to an automatic stamp transaction. We may see, however, that this phase of the stamp development lacks the element that it gives no absolute vouchers back to the whole in the aggregate movement of the Post Office. There is no immediate and direct accounting to the public as to cost of service and the accuracy of the trade. We know that any lack of reckoning must beget in that degree a slack responsibility and looseness of administration, with a corresponding tendency to pilfer. It is certain that there is a vast swindle in the franking privilege and the contract jobbery; how much, we have no accounting.

The ethic of the Post Office. This is found to be its effi-

ciency in action, told in the freedom it promotes among men. The question of how much a thing ethics is the question of how much it acts in economic relation to men in terms of commerce. How much does it help the freedom of trade? How far does it meet the needs of men? This is of general application, applying not alone to the Post Office, but to any section of the State, to any field. Ethic is freeing action. If we ourselves wish to ethic in relation to the Post Office we have to act to further its organization. Our practical ethic, accordingly, is plainly to promote organization through the government ownership of the telegraph and telephone.

The Post Office presents the standing refutation of the claim that competition, or contention, for money gain is essential to good service. Competition in its underlying reality is rather the strife for being, or action, equal to one's powers. Competition is to be compete-nt as meeting conditions in life. This is, simply, to be equal to some trade. The principle goes back of money gain as motive to exertion. Self-preservation, or being, the organic view proposes, is the underlying motive to exertion. A man may be so far disordered, or money-mad, that he loses sight of his normal relation to life, making money an object in itself. But a normal person who canvasses his reasons for wanting money must testify that it has meaning to him only as he can use it to satisfy his faculties. The pursuit of money in its abnormal relation is still the exercise of one's faculties, or being, in certain power or freedom of play. It is still the strife for place, or action, conditions considered—in principle of mental operation, as though it were normal in object. And the culminating testimony is that while in the development of life men as a mass have been more and more restricted in their money-making to what is exactly necessary for their free action, yet service on every hand has advanced, the Post Office being no more than a notable example of this. Conclusively, money has its significance in what being, or free action, we can get out of it.

With the advance of organization in the State the exaggerated, or diseased, competition is reduced to normal, through limiting to actual use of living the amount of the exchange instrument an individual may gain. Organization cuts off the unreal object of competition. Not being able to acquire more than one needs for actual use, and resting secure in this, competition resolves itself into normal test of place. Does a man wish to *be* as a railway mail clerk? Then he must compete, must rise compete-nt, with the kind of talent or quality of art belonging to such place.

The underlying competition works organically to advance efficiency. The practical art is the average practice; in other words, the plane of practice that is the proper working of any branch of the State. In the railway mail service, for instance, the instinct of being, or art, drives the deft clerk to greater deftness in moving the mail. A pace thus set, other clerks strive to be somewhere near a good clerk. The management of service in its instinct of art demands that all clerks approach the best work. And, more, through natural impulse of being, the mass of clerks strive to attain place with qualified men. There comes from this an average practice on an advanced plane. To this art all indifferent persons must attain if they pursue their desire to live as mail clerks. Individual competition is thus the competition against the ideal. There results an efficient arm of service in the State. The mail service, affording example of a high plane of practice, is in the main the simple competition for existence as action, or place.

CHAPTER III

TRANSPORTATION : ARTERIAL CARRIAGE

The railroad in relation to other organs of democracy has its meaning as common carrier, or transportation. It affords the nutrient circulation, or blood current, of the social body. We see the wires as nerve-lines accompanying the railways, or arterial routes of democracy—like the animal body. The integrity of the organ of transportation must gather under one head the different parts of the carrying business. These include railways, city and neighborhood tramways, the public cab service, the various water lines.

Centralization, or organization, is growing up in two directions ; one is the welding of the management in the Presidents' Joint Traffic Association, the other is the railroad labor unions. The former is one phase in the progress of the Transportation Class toward consolidation. The Association is a governing body for fixing and pooling rates. In other ways it determines regulations affecting the relations of the various systems of roads. As the name indicates, the Association is composed of the presidents of the various systems. It is extensive enough to control the larger traffic of the entire country. Its affairs had originally to do more especially with the so-called competitive through traffic, that is, with traffic wider than local that might go over one of two or more lines or systems, reaching the same point or equivalent points. The situation that brought it about was the contention between lines for through traffic. For instance, lines between St. Paul and Chicago would each secure rival outlets among the half-dozen trunks between Chicago and New York or other seaboard point, and then cut rates on the through traffic. Or the situation might similarly arise in

the several Pacific roads each securing independent Eastern connections and entering upon prolonged rate wars. The roads of the country being thus liable at any time to precipitate traffic war, the stronger roads entered a combine, bringing in with them lesser lines and systems. The start of the organization was in the so-called pool meetings by representatives of various roads. These made agreements on rates and pooling for a fixed period of a year or more, to be signed by the several roads. These arrangements, being inflexible, were frequently broken by some road that felt that it had the worst of it, and extensive rate wars were in consequence precipitated. The "Presidents' Joint Traffic Association" was the further growth of the movement in an attempt to make conditions of control more adaptable or flexible and more certain of maintenance. With a permanent Board or Association it is possible to hear complaints of a road at any time and issue a new rule modifying the objections. In general it is seen that a permanent board like the Association, subject to call, and having represented in its body related knowledge of the movement of the entire country, is better able to effect rules adapted to changing situations. The Association thus arising in the necessities of what are clearly underlying conditions of the wider movement in the business of transportation, it has to be counted as in the direction of permanent growth in organization. Economic considerations in all directions press toward this centralization of carriage. As illustration, it is stated that since the creation of the Association sums reaching beyond the \$100,000 mark have been saved to a single road in the one item of switching alone. Rentals, salaries, and commissions tend to be greatly lessened. The number of competitive travelling agents, freight and ticket offices tend to reduce to normal conditions, and the enormous sums spent in advertising by the various roads fall away. Conditions thus press forward, making recession improbable. In fact, the thought of recession is as chaos.

If we look in another direction from this league of

managers we face centralization in the different railway men's organizations. For a considerable time the several divisions of the body of railway service have each had some degree of efficient organization. The strongest of these is the Locomotive Engineers. Owing to the extreme technicality of its work and its far-reaching organization this labor body is more feared by the obstructive capital interest. It is stated that there are now no competent locomotive engineers not members of this branch of organized labor. In the engineers' strike on the Toledo & Ann Arbor road a number of years ago no capable engineers could be found to take the place of the strikers. The company had some engines wrecked through running them with sawmill firemen. We find this important factor of carriage acquiring cohesion through a general head, the President of the Locomotive Engineers. He has his action under rules voted upon by the whole body of engineers either directly or through representatives meeting in convention.

Latterly there is a movement to affiliate under one head the various railway labor organizations. A form of this is the American Railway Union, notable in the Chicago strike of 1894. The strength of the movement, it is apparent, is in so far as it designs a central head, or control, for the different railway organizations, but allowing each organization an autonomy in its own peculiar, or technical, field. The larger accessions to the Railway Union are from the trackmen, brakemen, firemen, and station men. The engineers in sections of the country make some membership in it, but in any considerable body they do not yet join. Among the causes keeping the engineers aloof from a central movement in organization of their Class as a whole, is their fear of being drawn into embroilment with the railroad management through having part in demands for betterment of what is considered the lower or less skilled and less self-contained grades of the service. The engineers feel that falling to a minority place in the larger organization they could be pushed into an inconsiderate and poorly planned

contest with the management, likely to result in the undoing of their own union and the advantages it has gained. The engineers seemed disposed to wait, on the part of their greater numbers, for the brother organizations—the firemen, the brakemen, etc.—to demonstrate their capacity for fuller and more conservative action. Again, we may say that the engineers are not for the moment quick to subordinate themselves to an organization which as a body does not on the surface appear to have interests closely identified with their own.

On the other hand, the conditions pressing for the amalgamation of the engineers in the one central railway body, or Class, are the very conditions of the advancing democracy itself. Men cannot always stand out against their own consciousness when once it becomes clear that the tendency of natural law is to centralize the Class as a whole. The growing publicity regarding the law of advancement and making for the complete liberty of the engineer must in time commit him to an alliance with his Class. The shortsighted and narrower issue tends to fall aside with the rearing of the supreme cause. The engineer must presently see that his fuller liberty and the cause of his home are pushing him to centralized union with his technical body as a whole. He must tend to realize that he can ultimately in the inner nature of things no more hold aloof from the union of his Class than he can from the union of the commonwealth.

The present holding apart of the engineers is in sections of the country little more than nominal. In the Great Northern strike in '94, at St. Paul and west, the engineers, as members of the Railway Union, were in the fight with the other divisions of that portion of the Transportation Class. The fight was won in part through the engineers supporting the cause. In other strikes they have gone so far in their sympathies as to refuse to take out their engines with non-union firemen. They know that they may sometime need return of favor. More than the sense of justice, which moves all great bodies, the engineers feel common cause with their fellow organiza-

tions. In this the alliance may justly be prefigured.

A force that is propelling the engineer toward essential policy and justice is the rising consciousness in democracy. At the Great Northern strike and at the Chicago strike the trades-people and working-men generally refused dealings with any one having an attitude averse to the strikers. Along the line of the Great Northern road during the contest those opposing the strikers found it hard to buy food or shelter. Some of the hotel men at Fargo put them out. And such of the railroad men themselves as would not actively support the cause were outlawed in the attitude of the masses.

Beyond the growing perception of the railroad men and the public generally as pushing all phases of railroad labor organizations together, we must see a compulsion upon such tendency in any condition that may arise which would require the railroad body to act as a whole, through a central head. Such would be the proposal to federate with some other Class advancing in organization, the conditions requiring the two Classes to have each a head. Or, in the growth of things, there may arise the necessity for the Class as a whole to deal with the state and national governments, through the courts or other medium ; these might refuse negotiations with anything less than a head empowered to act for the whole railroad body. The engineers would then find their direct interests pressing for close organized relations of their division with the other divisions of the Class. We may watch for all conditions thus forwarding centralization among the railroad labor organizations.

A menace to the engineers, as a body aloof in their Class, is the imminency of simple machinery for displacing the more complicated locomotive. Experiments in 1896 on the New Haven Railroad with the third rail for electric feeder, show the nearness of this. Should electricity come in, the driving of an express train will be hardly more difficult than driving a motor street car. In fact, the proposition is to entirely do away with the locomotive and put a motor on each car with a driver on the

front platform, as in the tramway service. Should it thus become easier to displace the engineer, he will be ready to seek an alliance with the strength of the whole railroad body. Or we may see the three sections of the service—engineer, fireman, and brakeman—entering the one classification of motormen, thus making alliance of these important sections through technical amalgamation.

Though the Railway Union as a nominal organization fall away, the idea of federation which is its reality cannot fail. If the movement stands for anything it stands for the principle of defensive co-operation among the branches of the railroad labor body. Sooner or later they must be driven to form a railway union, whatever be its name.

The private and narrow view, as in the Post Office, obstructs the organization of Transportation. The lack of sight of the people opposes the trust, or centralization of the managing interest. The people, instructed in their partial views by the press, cry out against the Presidents' Joint Traffic Association as something in its nature vicious and subversive of the individual good. On the other hand the bond, or private, interest opposes the advance in the organization of the railroad labor unions. They see in such advance the ultimate downfall of the investment, or the private tax at will on labor. In some of the recent strikes in other fields, labor unions have gained the point of compelling the removal of offensive managers. The railroad king fears the last great issue in his defeat by the railway unions. Such coming to pass would be the virtual control of the heads, or management, by the body of workers. It carries in it the principle of the election of the technical control, by labor—by the body of the Class. The counting-room sees in this that the movement is toward its subjugation by the wider interest. Seeing this, it strenuously opposes any large progress in labor organization. The feudal interest, in the private control, knows that it has entered upon the battle.

The course of the whole conflict of interest here must be to advance the organism. Anything tending to make

distinct the stand of the management as opposing the interest of the body of workers, going to intensify the conflict to extreme issue, must result in the final subjugation of one side to the other. The final outcome of the struggle must be in favor of the economic conditions. We can but invite the conflict, until it brings the irrepressible issue of the control of the management by the Class as a whole.

The Chicago strike of 1894 went far to intensify the issue. The offensive and defensive alliance of the railway managers against the American Railway Union came into prominence. This alliance of the managers was in existence before the strike for blacklisting employees, its animus being directed especially towards men active in labor organization. It exists to-day, in stronger force. It aims at the full issue of the strike, in the persistent following of organized labor. Under the machine of its so-called labor bureau, every road in the alliance refuses work to any one active in the strike or known to be at present influential in labor organization, of a grade below the engineers. An employee coming under the displeasure of some road, for these or other reasons, is discharged and refused clearance papers, the latter when given amounting to a recommendation to favorable consideration by other roads. Without "clearance," the discharged is unable to get work on any road belonging to the alliance or in sympathy with it, meaning any road in America. The roads are bent on subjecting the men by starvation. Latterly the alliance has worked to carry the election for Mr. McKinley, making for the control of legislation, the Federal courts and the army. Facing this, the members of labor organizations have become conscious that their existence is at stake.

As the essential body of democracy, labor must see its own advancement in the increasing assertion and aggressiveness of the feudal management, tending to arouse the public. In this final pass of the private control, which stops at nothing to perpetuate itself, we must see Anarchy, the partial interest, opposing the organizing Class as the

advance of the State in the growing order and equality. The intensity of the private interest may be trusted to overreach itself as in the fifties. The result must be the precipitation of the climax, in one form or another, as in 1861. Bound up in his limited view and insensible to the jar of the earth the slave-holding Brigadier in the earlier day asserted to the last the powerlessness of forces, that democracy did not carry within itself its own correction, and that it was not a union. But, nevertheless, Grant rode down the lines at Appomattox. And until the Chicago upheaval in 1894, perhaps the beginning of the final desperate stand of the feudal lord, the wheel has not gone so far over.

The coming to bay of the feudal interest and its last entrenchment in the anarchy of obstructive process, has its method illustrated at the Chicago strike. It is not different from the treatment with which the malady of old conditions in conflict with the rising consciousness of the people has sought to stay itself at every fever of the State. In all the story of renewing life it has been hard for the clogged and fatted interest to take the legal prescription for the purging of congested tubes. The sick of a failing movement turns rather to the charlatan with his incantations and who feeds still the occluded passage. When the conditions were gathering for the Revolution in France, the king dismissed Turgot, the just minister, at the dictation of the nobles. A new science and the proposal of releasing remedies is embarrassing when the feudal lord has entered upon a severe course of old things.

The extra flesh-pot at Chicago was the assertion of the intense individualism disguised under any convenient form of the public good. And in some cases not disguised. Under the Interstate Commerce Act, directed ostensibly against corporations in their restraint of trade, injunctions were issued by the Federal courts which resulted in jailing the leaders of the strike. This law, under which the courts nominally acted, had previously been declared inoperative by the leading Federal judges.

Its life was revived by the courts against the strikers, who were declared to be acting in restraint of commerce between the states. It seems the question of the restraint of the interstate commerce turned on the fact that cars loaded in Illinois were prevented through so-called conspiracy, or combination, of the strikers from leaving the state; and also that cars passing through the state were delayed in their movement; and that the U. S. Mails were obstructed. Here was the appearance of the individualistic stand under the guise of public good.

The strike had its origin in the demands of the employces of the Pullman Car Works for sufficient wages and other conditions for enabling them to perform their division of labor in the State. Clearly they were obstructed by the private ownership in the person of Mr. Pullman in the fundamental commerce with their fellows. But no writ of the Federal court issued against Mr. Pullman in his obstruction of this underlying commerce. The distinction of the judiciary, as the logic of its action, is therefore clearly that interstate trade is a bill of lading. Apparently in this distinction they do not take any account of the making of the goods or of the question of the man as an efficient instrument in making them. The individualistic interpretation rears itself in the failure to see that any kind of commerce whatever has its reduction in the service of the individual in the interest of the whole. The failure of the judge in his distinction is that he does not see that the crippling of the Pullman car builder in his duties might be as far-reaching in its obstruction as would be the sidetracking of any number of bags of mail or cars of beef. Mr. Pullman, in his private holdings obstructive of the whole, was dismissed inviolable by the public mandate, while the judge hastened to formulate his individualistic definition.

Again, the courts seem not to have weighed the new principle pressing in another form for decision. This is the public need for labor to organize and better its service to the State. The court in handing out its injunctions upon the leaders of organized labor seems not to have

taken cognizance of the fact that the reality of its mandate was itself obstructive of this the most vital distinction and far-reaching movement in commerce to-day. Had the court informed itself in other than private view it would find that the exaction of a transportation tax from the people to pay interest on from six to eight billions of fraudulent railroad paper has more of moment in the stalling of commerce than any strike of organized labor of which we know. The judge in effect erected the private and fraudulent investments against the basic movement of the State, which, in its ultimate development in the line of organized labor, being the incline toward carriage at cost, goes to obliterate the private tax upon the circulation of the State.

When we look toward Washington we find that again in the history of busy insects at court, the King had dismissed his just minister—let such be any man capable of recognizing the principles of industrial order. Instead of finding his resources of counsel in a man balanced in the broad issues of affairs, Mr. Cleveland had his advisor in the person of a man corrupted in thought through a generation of service in the individualistic doctrines. This man, Mr. Olney, his Attorney-General, was a corporation lawyer old in the cunning which interprets the extreme private interest under the guise of the public good. Born to the pettifogger's court, Mr. Cleveland in his double years of office had plied his vocation of "getting on." He was the better in this through intrenchment in some millions of the private investments acquired in a purported service of the people. He was thus a party in the cause of the strenuous private interest at the bar of the court. Forwarding this uncleanness of the administrative hand, an investment lawyer, attorney for one of the roads in the controversy, was sent to Chicago by Mr. Cleveland to direct the movement of the judiciary in the matter of the creation of the injunctions or what else, and to give the word for the calling out of the Federal troops which the evidence shows had been outlined beforehand by the representatives of the private, or corporate, inter-

est. The troops were sent and camped in the city on the call of the feudal attorney, whatever nominal process it assumed. It does not appear in the reports of the strike that there was warrant in necessity or custom for the proceeding, and it was against the protest of the local authorities who a short while before in the coal-mine strikes, measurably as formidable, had successfully asserted the peace. It was clearly the private interest reassuring itself by the overawing phase of the military ; individualism had become alarmed at its own length of procedure.

The climax in the defence of the individualistic doctrine came with the packed jury which, on the showing of the corporation lawyers, and the general alarm raised by the press, indicted Mr. Debs and the other strike leaders for asserting the Organism, the new integrity of democracy, the new Union. It matters not what the reading of the indictment may have been, it had the circumstances of its creation in the betrayal of the new consciousness of men, the new State. This jury which returned the indictments jailing the leaders of the strike, was without representation of organized labor upon its lists. The rich had procured it.

If the point is raised that it has not hitherto been law or custom to indict the private holdings as phase of conspiracy in restraint of commerce, we may reply in kind. It may be asked how long it has been statute or custom to interpret as conspiracy in restraint of trade the advance of organization in the State, the advance of commerce through the labor unions? If labor men in organization, seeking in the underlying reality to promote the life of the public service, are conspirators in restraint of commerce, what have the courts to say of a combination of railroad managers acting in ways subversive to this growing life of the State? And why did not injunctions issue in the last case? Or, as action conserving equally each case, why did not the court bring both parties, in a controversy overstepping order, and inquire the middle ground of public policy as affecting both? The court

could have arrested both the Managers' Association and the strike leaders as menacing the peace. It would then have had left to adjust the issue on the facts of the public welfare. This would be to forward the reasonable demands of fretted and ill-conditioned workers on the one side ; while on the other, there would be restraint of the overreaching private interest. If the warrant for the new proceeding by injunction, the new interpretation, rests in public policy in the one case it must also in the other. Finally, it is left to ask where the court is leading in its lesion which thus divides the State in its interpretation of public polity?

If the point is urged that the railroad management was not manifestly anarchistic or violent, the answer is that disorder of whatever kind is both anarchistic and violent. And the answer continues, that the gatling gun of a suborned administration and an illogical judge, thinking to indict a principle, is the last degree of anarchy.

Through the lack of economic relations between the organ of carriage and the whole, and the corresponding disorder of the organ of carriage itself, we find parts of the organism overfull, congested, and other portions depleted, starving. Adjustment between the organ of carriage and the whole has its meaning in efficiency of service at cost. If other organs are not receiving the proper return for service from Transportation the whole must be that much disordered in its movement, in its exchange of service, or nutrition. And if Transportation goes beyond exact division of labor and takes double what it gives, double its own service, diverting it to private channels, the social body as a whole is that much impoverished, there is that much depression of exchange, of nutrition ; other organs in their individual members must have as much less as Transportation diverts. If in the animal body the heart does not give its level pulse, we have for result a lessened movement and lowered tone in each organ ; the sluggish circulation, begetting a faulty trade in chemistry, impairs the body in one and all its parts. If in the other view the blood congests, is unlawfully diverted to any place, these

parts are overwhelmed in proportion as others are starved. In either view, the body becomes an inoperative and unrelated miasma.

The physician of the human body carries in his mind two main classifications of diseases. Both alike have their origin in disturbance of the circulation, that is, a lack in the balance of growth and repair—a disturbance of the exchange which is nutrition. The great wen, or fatty tumor, upon the shoulder is an occasional spectacle to the layman. The physician finds that this is due to disturbance of nutrition in the excessive production of diverted, or unbalanced, cells. And in the other direction most people are acquainted with the weak and shrunken hand of the man paralysed in this member. The physician finds that the hand fails of its nutrition because it is cut off from full blood supply. In the first instance, the disturbed circulation gives us a monstrosity unrelated to any normal economies of the body. And in the second instance, a diverted circulation shows in the lifeless member. Following the same law, the types reappearing in the evolution of life, we find that the disturbed circulation in one direction in the social body produces a monstrosity of unbalanced cell-life in the crowded centres of population. In the other direction some section or community has, like the shrunk hand, become dormant in its life—through a depleted circulation places and persons are starved, dead, cut off from the active movement of the State. The life of the overgrowth, the crowded city, carries likewise its aspect of starvation in unrelated, low life. It is the nature of the unbalanced cell, or the excess and unfunctioned growth, that it is of low quality and low resistance, tending ultimately to break down and become the malignant tumor or cancerous sore. Fifth Avenue in New York, representing generations of unfunctioned life, exhibits the tendency of the running sore, the malignant decay in democracy. We know it in the debauchery and excess of the unbalanced and errant life of the later generations in the aristocratic portion of the great city. And adjacent and involved in the meshes of this tumor

are the broken cells of the State—the slums of New York and other cities. The great growth has fed upon this broken life. We come thus to view as abnormal in the State the excessive growth on the one hand and the slow, isolated and deprived life of portions of the commonwealth on the other.

Discrimination, or inequality, in rates acts to cut off sections of the State from carriage, impoverishing them. The inequality of rates affecting different parts of the country lodges in the present principle of fixing charges. This is the making of distance a factor, or computing rates on the basis of the long and short haul, nominally a uniform rate per mile. If the distance is twice as great the charge is twice as much, though this is modified considerably in long distance hauls, for otherwise the toll would eat up the freight, which in some cases it does, notwithstanding. That this principle of fixing charges makes for inequality of different portions of the country, has example in every locality. In more notable cases we find certain sections of the West paying double price for coal—people west of the Missouri pay approximately ten dollars for coal where the citizens of New York State pay approximately five dollars. This double charge is the difference in the cost of transportation added to the price of coal. The Western section is again disadvantaged by the rates on the commodities which it sells. The price of grain west of the Missouri is usually quoted at ten cents less a bushel than the seaboard farmer is paid for his. This is the Western farmer's grain reduced in price by the amount of the freight charge to Eastern points. This ten-cent reduction in the price of his wheat and the five-dollar increase on a ton of fuel has for a number of years represented about that much cut off the meagre living of the average trans-Mississippi farmer; deprived of these two leading items he barely has food left, with no margin of leisure or movement or other of the amenities of existence. The farmer, coming off the prairie into the cheerless village, to deliver his grain at the station, can seldom take home the basket of

grapes, costing fifty cents, which he passes in the grocer's window, and which has the memory of tree-walled fields in the home from which inequality had forced him. Immobile conditions sap his spirit. And we know the common practice of the Nebraska farmer who burns his corn for fuel because railroad rates have made coal beyond his reach. After years of labor in improvements on his farm, without returns to meet his mortgage, his roof is sold over his head. If he repeats the operation or if he becomes a renter it is still the same deprivation as regards any movement adequate in the life of man. And the experience of such is the experience of whole sections of the country wherever we turn. In portions of California numberless of the smaller ranchers have been abandoning their places, worn out with the futile effort to pay even the annual interest on the mortgage, preferring to work a five acres "on shares" for the barest substance and a leaky roof. The farm holder and the farm laborer quite commonly join fortunes and become tramps in search of work and food. Morrison Swift, writing in 1896, relates this typical case of California fruit growing: "Near Wright's Station, a rancher owning nearly forty acres of fruit trees, unmortgaged, stated that in '94 he lost between three and four hundred dollars by picking fruit with the assistance of hired help. The succeeding year he hired but one man, letting the fruit fall and rot that could not be picked. By this species of economy, himself and wife working overtime, he came out a few dollars ahead." The ranchers paying the long-distance haul cannot get returns where the railroad charge is deducted from their sales. Against this, the grower near the great markets has some advantage, though the prostrating charges for even short hauls often amount to stagnation. Continuing, Miss Kent, stock-ranching in Wyoming, worked four years growing a carload of Norman horses. In 1896 she sent these to New Orleans. The agent there was obliged to bill her for \$200 to cover freight charges over and above the sale of the horses, though they brought a good price and the

commission was low. The Boston publication, *The Arena*, October, 1895, relates two instances of confiscation by the long-distance rates. In the summer of '95 a car-load of potatoes was shipped from Colorado to Chicago. The railway charge was \$28 more than the sale of the potatoes. Thirty cases of peas shipped from Texas to Chicago were sold on Water Street for \$22, while the express charges were \$26. The grower in the South and the small merchant dependent upon him suffer the same way. Individual farmers and farmers' clubs have in instances tried shipment of water-melons, sweet-potatoes, and green vegetables to the Northern markets. The almost invariable result is that the longer distance charge leaves them nothing for their labor. In some cases, like the above, the freight charge has not left enough to meet the cost of selling, the farmer finding himself in debt to the commission merchant. In the fall of 1896 some farmers in a Southern state contributed a number of barrels of sweet-potatoes to the *New York Journal* fund for the Bryan canvass. The commission merchant who sold them for the *Journal* got but little more than enough out of the sale to pay the freight and his own charges, and that at regular rates. The long distance charge had absorbed the shipment.

The contributory points, the places where a number of railroads centre, tend to uneconomic growth and crowding, through the unequal rates. The large buyers or distributors of the products of the manufactory and the farm tend to come together at these points on account of advantages of collecting and forwarding products. In addition to better shipping facilities, such centres have advantages in the way of telegraph and letter post. Economic conditions of communication and distribution rightly tend to build the more or less populous centres, but the unequal rates tend to create proliferation and growth beyond such conditions. We know that the manufacturer, other things being equal, finds it to his advantage to save heavy charges on his freight—especially if double, one in to the centre and one out. To have his

factory at a favorable point gives the manufacturer advantage of a single haul on his product. An industry brought to a centre often means an addition of several thousand people to the population. The manufacturers' operatives and their families are moved from the country to the town and the small shop-keeper follows them, for their consumption represents his business. Again, the long-haul charge tends to over-fill the immediate region of such a centre with the farming element that feeds it, or that has to ship its produce through the centre as point of distribution. We are familiar with the crowding of the farming region immediate to the great city. Much of the gardening for New York is done within the thirty-mile limit. But for the long-haul rate it would be distributed over the state and other states, tending to seek soil and climate advantageous for any particular product. When the hot-house men around New York and other Northern cities are putting a few green vegetables on the market at a price beyond the reach of most people and outside of reality in trade, vegetables and fruits are growing out of doors in Georgia under conditions of their cheapest production. Or when in the summer the gardeners around New York are working under the disadvantage of a gravel and shallow soil for their celery beds, muck fields in the interior of the state are without planting. Similar uneconomic facts often prevail in locating a factory in one of these centres of distribution. But for the double long-haul charge an industry would seek location by water courses or other advantages of power. And reasons urge that operatives of a factory should have their acre garden and their home on the ground instead of enduring the crowding and deprivations of the tenement district in the city. This latter fact might alone avail to place the factory in the open region.

The questions of the equalization of the population and correspondingly of trade, are thus seen to depend in much on the equalization of railroad rates. That is, the single rate to and from all points, as with postage. Obviously, the recession from the centres into the stag-

nating districts waits in measure upon the removal of the cause of congestion.

The abuses which have multiplied under the unequal rate tend to further the excess growths and to dry up the sections contributing to these. The custom has grown up among the railroad managers of giving to individuals and certain terminals, special advantages, or cuts, in rates. The result is that the dealers and manufacturers living at points not so favored by the will of a railroad chief are either crushed in business or they remove to points where they can get the reduced rate. A combination of railroad managers like the Joint Traffic Association, working under the principle of the unequal rate, can thus turn the tide of blood from one city or terminal to another, by the simple exercise of its pleasure. A decade ago Kansas City was a rising entrepot as immediate distributive centre of the great stock regions west and southwest of that point. At this juncture the big Chicago packing houses, finding trade dividing between themselves and the Kansas City packer and in other ways seeking a normal level throughout the country, secured rates from the railroad managers by which shippers could bring cattle into Chicago at half the rate of carriage to Kansas City; and with similar advantages in rates from Chicago to eastern points they have been able to limit the growth of the Kansas City packing industries. With the decline of these, Kansas City and its region have languished. Similarly, Cincinnati and Indianapolis have fallen away from their former position in the packing business and we see the whole industry virtually centralizing itself in Chicago in the hands of two or three men possessing the special advantages with which the railroad kings have endowed them. In turn, these men become in their growth manipulators of the railroads and masters of the fortunes of the great cities. For they can at will throw their shipments to this or that road and favor this or that terminal as distributive point.

The methods by which the railroads evade the statutes denying these special favoritisms to individuals and

towns is by charging the regular rate and then paying back a rebate—often from one-third to two-thirds the charge. The Federal Grand Jury in November, 1891, presented an indictment against Swift & Co., the dressed beef shippers of Chicago, for having received \$5,000 a month in rebates from one road alone, the Nickel Plate. Considering that train loads of their cars may be seen any day passing east or west over the various lines centering at Chicago, some computation can be made of the enormous gifts which they receive nominally from the railroads but virtually through tax upon the great body of other shippers and of the producers in the remote regions. For on the showing that the railroads are bound to make so much anyway we know that if one town or individual is favored with less rates some other town or individual has to make up the deficiency in the road's revenues. We know that the Standard Oil Company, as one of these favored shippers, now in some respects dictator to the roads, usually receives half a million dollars a month in rebates. This is the secret of the crushing out of the smaller refiners in oil. The long distance rates in their case practically amounted to confiscation of their plants. They were compelled to sell to the Standard Oil Company at the latter's figures, or close up.

This favoritism in rates works in certain cases to completely prostrate the country districts. It is the custom in the fall in western states like Nebraska for grain rates to be held up to the long distance charge or at a point which makes it impossible for the farmer or small dealer to ship. The rate to Chicago, for instance, would practically confiscate the whole load. Dealers favored by the railroad with the rate, buy up the corn at a price that leaves the farmer impoverished. Similarly we see these favored shippers handling the sweet-potatoes and melons in the South and paying the farmers prices that are not very far removed from starvation of the whole section which they touch.

In general reflection, it is apparent that the circulation, or commerce, of the State is stopped in any large pro-

portion where the medium of trade in carriage, hinders or prevents. The reality of it is as simple as the creation of an impassable barrier between sections. It amounts to this : A shoemaker in Massachusetts, standing for the life of his section, needs to sell his shoes to a farmer in Georgia. The latter, standing for the movement of his section, needs to sell watermelons in Massachusetts or New York. If the shoemaker and farmer in sending their products to each other find the profit part of their loads confiscated on the way, then they are compelled to stop trading. An impassable barrier has been erected which they cannot cross. Trade and the life of each section is dead. In asking what is the matter with the languishing business of the country, we find important bearing here : that trade, so far as dependent on free communication, has been killed by the railroad.

The tendency of the railroads is to become more autocratic and overbearing, crippling trade. The whole New England system is now practically combined in one great corporation. Its general policy under the unequal rate is to stifle the movement of the region. In their purpose to absolutely possess this territory, they have secured most of the wharfage in Boston and other New England ports, the tendency being to control the water lines in conjunction with their railroad system. They have gone beyond this to exercise control of the state and county officials elected by the people, with the effect that these officials have of late refused license or charter to extend the trolley lines which had begun to move out into the adjoining regions from Hartford, Boston and other points. General Freight Agent Mellen informed the Board of Trade of Hartford not long ago that his corporation was not an elymosynary enterprise ; this was his justification of the rates which the Board of Trade regarded as blighting to the region, from which they asked relief. The action of the Presidents' Joint Traffic Association is strenuously towards upholding the unequal rate. They have recently cut off the excursion fares to Niagara Falls from the central passenger district. And in

general results, we observe that the prostration and discontent of the farmer and trader of the remote regions are growing more and more.

The single rate to all parts of the country based on the cost of service for the average haul is the economic adjustment of transportation charges. The controlling thing here is the interest of the whole as promoted by the one-fare rate, on the cost-of-service principle seen in the Post Office. Or, conversely, it is the promotion of the individual interest through forwarding the interest of the whole in the equal rate. We readily get this view if we conceive the interest of the whole best promoted by service at the point of least friction. For instance, a man raising beef, as his division of labor, or contribution to the whole, should not be put to any unnecessary disadvantage in his service. Conditions in the operation of the State should tend at every point to promote his service instead of retarding it.

The prime condition discommoding, or disrupting, service in the State is the inequality of rates in general, that is, a non-uniform exchange, of any product, whether it be transportation or grapes. It has been the purpose of some pages to show the viciousness of the unequal rate in transportation. A single instance as typical of trade in other directions should go to enforce the equal rate, on whatever product, as universal principle underlying the interests of the State and the individual. If we go to a grocery store to find that the price of grapes in one basket is 25 cents and in another basket 50 cents, we ask the reason of the difference, the fruit being essentially the same. The answer, under the unequal computation, could well be that the 25-cent grapes are home grown and that the 50-cent grapes are from California, having paid longer carriage, or, in another case, having come from higher priced land. It is clear that the man who gets the 25-cent grapes has at a disadvantage the man who gets the 50-cent grapes. The question presents itself whether there is not some solution that will equalize the price of grapes and so relieve the confusion

and inequality. The first thought would be to add the two prices together and divide them by two—that is, put the average, or one rate, price upon each. Every man would in this tend to work under equal conditions. We would ask the dealer to proceed on the equalizing principle that all the grapes were raised on a common farm and that the railroad, or in another instance, the aggregate cost of certain land added so much to the total cost of any particular grade of any particular kind of grape. In other words, we would ask the distributor to proceed on the principle of division of labor, which is the construction of the operative State; that is, give every man equal conditions of service.

Pursuantly, we may see that the basic unit of computation for any line of production in the State is the average cost of living. On the face of things, the State cannot complicate its accounts with entries for as many different prices of labor as there are millions of individual men. It must have a uniform rate of wage for all men as the best practical adjustment obtainable in the nutrition of service. In addition to food, clothing, housing, etc.,—recuperation by vacation, short hours and other needful items may be seen as phases of the nutrition of service. It is reckoned that the interest of the whole primarily demands the average cost of nutrition to the individual in all that that implies—full life and movement. If service suffers under given conditions of average, it has to be remedied by raising or lowering the average unit of living, as required. And this average cost of nutrition, or unit, is the uniform cost of service paid the individual by the State, that is, his rate of wage.

It must here be seen that the State can get no computation on this average cost of service unless the items of its computation, or rates on a given product, are uniform. Otherwise, there remains the vitiating fact that under inequality of rate some man is fattening and some other man is starving, working toward the complete undoing of industrial life. For instance, the State in computing the cost of service finds that the average person eats

so many grapes per year ; if the State goes any further with the computation, if its figures are to be practically operative, as reaching through to equality in men's lives, it must have a uniform price on grapes of a given grade. Or, it is found that a man sends so many letters per year, being the whole number of letters divided by the number of people ; the continuance of the computation, on practical lines, requires a uniform price on postage. In fine, it is not potential in economics to reckon the average cost of service, as underlying unit of computation in the State, unless there is an average price on each article or each grade of an article of consumption.

Finally, if each article has, in the interest of the State, to be a uniform price, the transportation charge as entering into all items of consumption must be uniform, else the computation is instantly at fault and the State is not feasible, at once facing the general disorder of present conditions. Or, again, if we cannot reach lines of average service, cannot equalize the movement of the State, uniform rates of transportation being required, we are thrown back on the present situation with its starvation and asphyxia in one section and the festering congestion of another—conditions underlying red nightmare.

The unit of transportation which gives basis of uniform rate has to be computed in terms of some comprehensive average of what the railway does. What an egg does, we may see, is its contribution to the whole. But an egg, simply, without further reduction, is the comprehensive unit of an egg's doing. The economic form in which to compute its results, is as so much nutrition, briefly, which is fitly represented by the term egg. Not so the railroad. What the railroad does is, in one instance, to transport a given number of passengers 3,000 miles, a much greater number 1,000 miles, and it transports a many times greater number less than 25 miles. Again, the railroad shows another class of doing in transporting given tons of freight varying distances, from 1 mile to 3,000. To get any rendering of what the railroad does as sum of doing we have in the first case to reduce the varying rides of

passengers to the average ride. And in the second place we reduce the varying hauls per car to the average haul. If we take the whole number of passengers in a year and the total distance which they travel and then divide the latter by the former we find that the average ride per passenger is close to 25 miles. And similar figuring shows that the average car haul is close to 125 miles. It is this average alone that gives us comprehensive grasp of what Transportation does, at once advancing us to an economic base for computing a uniform rate. That is, what a railroad does, in its reduction on the passenger side, is to give a ride of 25 miles. Distance does not in any controlling sense enter into it. It no more enters into it as expression of results than does a grade, or a curve, or a tunnel, or a bridge. It is as legitimate to estimate railroad results by curves, grades, bridges, tunnels, stopping and starting, etc., as it is to estimate by distance. In fact these items are often many times as expensive as is running distance, considered in itself. So that if we are to get any grasp of what the railroad does it must be in terms of its average resultant—its whole doing. And this we have seen, on the passenger side, is the ride, one ride. Similarly; we may say, referring to freight, that what Transportation does is to haul a loaded car 125 miles. We have next to find the average cost in each of these cases, the ride and the car haul, as entering into cost of service in the State. In other words, what does it cost the State to give a man one ride or to draw one car?

We may be informed at once that the proposition of conservative economics is to make the rate on this average service equal to the lowest rate now charged on any road, either in fares or freight carriage. This would be five cents for a ride on any passenger train to any place, the passenger getting on the train where he likes and getting off where he likes; he may get on at New York, and get off at Yonkers, the first station, or he might get off at San Francisco, the last station, paying but the one rate, five cents, for the one ride any distance. On the freight side, the proposition is to make the rate \$6 for open, or

flat cars, and \$8 for box cars, any distance and whether the car be full or partly full. The proposition on the smallest package is ten cents from domicile to domicile, whatever the distance. Larger packages would increase the rate by small gradations.

The general considerations entering into the proposition to the low uniform of rates are, first, the actual cost of service. Next, comprehended in this, that rolling-stock be handled at its capacity. The average freight car now makes scarcely twelve hauls a year. By reducing the time limit for loading and unloading to one day each it could serve ten times its present use. Another item in the full working of rolling-stock is the carrying of full trains, freight and passenger. The average passenger train now is two cars, about half filled. The big passenger locomotive can draw twelve or fifteen cars full, which it is estimated the low rates would crowd, just as the five-cent fares now crowd the street cars. The average freight train now carries only a small portion of what the engine can haul, and a large part of these cars are empty. A consideration is that it practically costs no more to run the train to its full capacity than it does to run it at the present low service. And it costs practically as much to build and man the road for a single half train a day as one hundred full trains. The difference in expense is so small an item that it does not materially affect the figures. And a considerable item in the wear and tear of rolling stock at the present time is non-use and decay. In addition to all this as making for advance of service, but not entering into the computation, is the proposition of Westinghouse to build locomotives burning but one-twelfth the fuel at present consumed. And all are familiar with the prospect of great cheapening in motor service in the growth of electricity and other inventions in power. Conservative men, like Mr. Ackworth in England, foresee the possibility of one-cent fares to any part of the world.

The basis of the computation in passenger rates, as shown, is that a train on an average empties itself every

twenty-five miles, the length of the average ride. It costs to run a twelve-car train on almost any road considerably less than \$1.00 per mile—and by some expert estimates not anywhere near half that. But we may take the \$1.00 as the outside conservative limit. The run between New York and Chicago is 1,000 miles. The twelve-car train carries, when full, 780 passengers; through emptying itself every twenty-five miles it would carry in the journey of 1,000 miles considerably more than 30,000 passengers, or in terms of the unit of computation, 30,000 rides. The cost per passenger, the per ride, would be not much above three cents. Even though the train went but a little more than half full it is seen that five cents would cover the cost of each ride. To repeat, this is the outside conservative estimate. Better figures would reduce it to one or two cents a ride. And if we extend the system to include the street cars and trolleys of the populous districts, the estimate falls considerably below one cent a ride. And these figures would cover, under economic conditions, construction both of the roads and the rolling stock, with full manning, repairs and reconstruction.

It will be noticed that no separate account is taken of the long distance passenger. He is regarded as a mere incident in the general movement and of course he has originally been figured in on the average. In the usual train there are always enough empty seats to accommodate him, and in the general movement he is not noticed; his fare is simply so much gain, affording so much reduction to the average. But in the present view, the through passenger would tend to class in a fast train service which in itself cannot be much supported by the local, or way, traffic and so does not so often empty itself. The average ride on such trains roughly approximates 100 miles, so that such a train might empty itself a half-dozen times between New York and Chicago. It would be the proposition of the present, requiring these fast trains to be self-supporting, to fix the rate on them for any distance at \$1.00, with an increase for "palace-car" service.

In the outleading toward the further organization of the Transportation Class, the public sight takes the direction of Government ownership of the railroads. This popular movement now gaining ground is of course organic and toward a centralized head, as with the Post Office. The man who sees the organic State will abet the popular movement toward Government ownership, as it is in the direction of the reality of what he is seeking, by whatever name.

[The full account of the abuses under the unequal rate and its natural tendency to monstrosities of service, together with the full treatment of the equable cost-of-service rate for all distances, has been wrought out in a popular vein by James Lewis Cowles, in his little book, "General Freight and Passenger Post : A Practical Solution of the Railroad Problem" (Putnam's, New York, 75 cents). Mr. Cowles' easy indictment of the system makes the convincing propaganda for the Government ownership of railroads. All may read his waking account for the fuller story, the romance of the feudal rail. It might become the catechism in the home. The book contains references to the more exhaustive bibliography in statistics, etc. There are other popular books on the subject.]

The newspaper in relation to the advance in organization of the Transportation Class has the adverse view, in line with its attitude toward the Post Office advance. In exceptional cases there is uncertainty of utterance ; but the general press speaks more or less positively against the Government ownership of railroads. The management of the newspaper does not discern the unfolding position of the State and does not see that the advance is mounting, defer or obstruct it as we will. As in the Post Office, the press speaks against a flood of office-holding and the domination of the will of the people by a President who should come into so much patronage ; they say that we are confronted with the likelihood of an administration re-electing itself by the numbers and power of its own constabulary. Without going any deeper than the sur-

face, the reply to this is, of course, that the country might as well be run by a President, retaining a certain subjection to the people, as to be run by a combination of railroad presidents who, as we have seen, hold absolutely the power of life and death over the nation's being, while controlled by the principle of the private interest which tends to subject the popular good. These men themselves possess all the patronage which the feudal editor professes to fear, should it pass to the Government. The Vanderbilt system has in its immediate gift something like a quarter of a million places. In 1896 this army of employees were served with notice to vote for Mr. Vanderbilt's candidate for President. How many were subjected to his coercion through threats and innuendo quietly passed by the immediate lieutenants of his service cannot now be known. The proposition of the Government ownership is the proposition to limit the private patronage now assuming such frightful proportions. And to the cry of the press against paternalism in government, the reply is taken that it is better to be fathered by the vote of the whole people and the instruments which it creates than to be fathered by the private interest aiming to subject the whole machinery of government in its effort to establish its licentious will. It is better to be fathered by the principle of the public good than to be fathered by the anarchy of private greed. We need not expect that the newspapers, so far as allied to this dissolution of principle, will be quick to welcome a day of judgment by the people on the usurpation of government, which day may be forecast. Fearful of revealing its hand, the newspaper's defense of the private interest ever takes on semblance of the public weal. It urges that the Government would have to bond itself for above nine billions, the present paper on which the railroads are taxing America. We may suppose it did so bond itself; it would be but doing what is now done actually under the greatest license to irregularity. The private ownership is now exacting from the people a measure of interest on these bonds, without giving the public any accounting. The meaning

of the Joint Traffic Association is to steady these securities, over two-thirds fraudulent, as representing no expenditure whatever. The ultimate purpose is to collect from the body politic the face of this forged paper in gold. The newspapers draw a distinction between watering milk and watering securities. The railroads are further taxing the public for enormous salaries and the wholesale plundering of investors in the guise of rolling stock and terminal companies. The officials of a road organize a rolling-stock or terminal company and officer it themselves, or with their own people. They then turn round and rent, in one case, the rolling stock, and, in the other case, the terminal facilities, to the road at rates sufficient to take its best earnings—the “rake-off,” in broker’s parlance. These schemes are invented to rob the stockholders and to deceive the public as to the actual earnings of the road, the rentals paid to the bogus rolling-stock and terminal companies being counted as legitimate expenses. Legislatures attempting to reduce rates on the roads have been confronted with these accounts to show that the road could not pay expenses if its rates were in any way cut.

But did the government move to possess the roads in fee simple, it could be by purchase on the basis of the actual cost, as determined by experts who were familiar with construction. This would reduce the inflated values. For instance, a section of the Northern Pacific in Minnesota was bonded, or stocked, for grading alone at \$25,000 a mile, when the actual cost was less than \$1,000 a mile. Similarly, a certain station on the prairie, costing not \$500, was audited at New York and passed into the fraudulent paper of the Company at \$15,000.

The newspaper, to the extent of vitiating its news columns, has gone to the defence of these securities, and of course the whole private interest, as connecting with its own counting-room. At the time of the Chicago railroad disturbances of '94 the newspapers struck hands with the railroad managers. The press taking the alarm at the possible defeat of the railroads by organized labor

began deliberately to create news prejudicial to the strikers. The character of the dispatches was such as to lead the public to suppose that organized labor had developed into an armed mob bent upon burning property and destroying life. Whereas the facts in the case were that the strikers were an organized and orderly body, officered by men with reasonable respect for the rights of things. The leaders and the great army of strikers were well aware that any marked disorder would spread alarm to the public and work against their interest. Their attitude was in the direction of order. Whatever disorder took place was, with respect to the great body of the strikers, of the character of the stragglers that go with an army. And of the threats against life and of the comparatively small destruction of property that took place the charge has been made that these were the work of hired agents of the railroad managers. Most of the destruction of property was due to fires located in yards distant from water so that the fire department could not perform its duties. And the few fires that occurred were set by stealth. This charge against the railroad managers has support in the character of the fires and in the fact that if the railroads could substantiate the report which they sent out, that the fires were set by a mob having no connivance with themselves, they could collect full pay for the \$200,000 or \$300,000 worth of property which the estimate shows was destroyed. Though this money is subject to simple draft on proof of loss by mob, the railroads have never made any attempt to collect it. It seems improbable that they will attempt to collect it, unless through some turn in the elections they gain a court that will do their bidding. Exaggerated reports of rioting, loss of life and incendiary words by the leaders of the strike were made up by the newspapers and telegraphed over the country. No other news was obtainable, as the machine of News, the Associated Press with its wires, was party to the conspiracy. The Chicago newspapers, in whose rooms much of the matter going over the wires was written, deliberately put inflamed

words upon Mr. Debs. And they represented him as drunk during the strike. As is now known, he is a man who works on the concept of order and one who does not drink intoxicants in the sense conveyed. A reporter on a newspaper in Dearborn street was sent to see Mr. Debs and instructed to draw him into intemperate language, and if he could not do this to put the words into his mouth. He was told that a long dispatch full of muttering was needed to send over the country that afternoon. Failing to entrap Mr. Debs and bringing in but a mild report showing containment by the strike leaders, he was discharged from the newspaper and blacklisted on other of the Chicago dailies. Any words of Mr. Debs at first sight apparently straining this view, have the aspect of mildness when regarded as the struggling for utterance of a new Union in the State and directed against the slave-holding league. One can but recall that some of the same newspapers, at another strike, said of Mr. Lincoln's speeches that they were the utterance of a fire-brand. The papers distorted the utterances of Governor Altgeld in relation to the strike. His intelligent and conservative dispatches to President Cleveland protesting against the camping of the Federal troops in Chicago were deliberately garbled by leading newspapers and by many entirely suppressed. The idea was conveyed to the public that Governor Altgeld refused to send the Illinois State troops and that he connived at disorder. The truth is the opposite of this. No adequate report of the Chicago Strike can now be found among the files of the great dailies. Carroll D. Wright's government report was suppressed or garbled by the newspaper. For any adequate treatment of the strike the reader has to be referred to the official publication of Mr. Wright's report, to be had at the libraries. He is also referred to Governor Altgeld's speech at Cooper Union, New York, during the Bryan canvass in '96 (Oct. 17). The printed text of this speech is to be found in the *New York Journal* of Oct. 18. The other newspapers misreported it. The speech of Mr. Debs at Cooper Union, in the fall of '94, recounting

the strike, was ignored by concert of the New York dailies. This speech dwelt upon the action of the strikers and their attitude of order and told of the work of the press in the handling of the news at the strike. There is no report of this speech extant.

There are evidences that the people have for some time taken the alarm against the attitude of the newspapers. The flood of pamphlets and books springing from the new ideas, and finding distribution through organizations of the people, go to show that for the most part the country entirely discounts the newspapers in their utterances where the private interest is in jeopardy. It is certain that as a body they are no longer relied upon for publicity in the new thought which is gaining hold upon the nation.

Property looked upon as expression, or public service, the effect is to throw the roads into the hands of the Transportation Class, as having functional control—the body through which service is operative. The railroads thus come to be technically controlled by the majority vote of the Railroad Class. The proportionate share of the railroad chief is then one vote in the organization and control of the roads. The people come to say to Mr. V., “You can have all that you have now—what you can use, not dissipate. The present meaning of the New York Central is that you use it for the people. What would ownership of this railroad mean if you didn’t run trains on it for the public? Not that you always do this to better purpose, but in the main you do it—so far as disorganic conditions do not restrict you. The advance can only mean that you will do it something more perfectly, with less dissipation of force and with the freedom of a growing order. You say the public does not now control you, that you are free. But in so far as the public does not control, you are controlled by disorder, and are not free. You cannot throw off the legislative rings that compel you to treat with them; you cannot throw off other restrictions of disorder. You cannot to-day rise possessor in the drama of fares

“at a cent. You cannot so promulgate. Some man
“freer than you will sign this emancipation. To throw
“off the plottings of private interest that pursue your
“will, you have to organize the public interest against
“them. True, as you say, you have a kind of freedom
“called independence of the public, in so far as State
“control of you is limited by the notions of the private
“interest. But it is the semblance of freedom, the
“shadow of independence. In essentials the people
“control; you would not think of running trains in any
“considerable opposition to them. The truth is that you
“prefer to run trains for the most part according to the
“public need. As soon as discernment comes, you will
“want to be still further controlled by the whole, will
“want to serve it still closer, because you thus better
“serve yourself, its gain being your gain. In the end,
“the entire public good will be your aim, since it en-
“larges your freedom—since in all things it will pay
“you better. You can then have more than you have
“now, because you can use more: in the bent for em-
“pire, there opens the road to Transportation General
“of the Globe.”

There could be an accounting with Mr. V., taking the farmer as an instance in division of labor with the railroad magnate: Mr. V., would be charged, on the facts, with defrauding his partner, this man who is working in the field and trusting the railroad manager to a fair division of the joint product. The farmer, reduced to straits and finding his partner dining off gold plates, with a hundred servants, three palaces, domains, and a private ship, may be accounted as asking restitution of the plunder. Should the public consciousness rise sufficiently high this principle would be the warrant for taking over to the Government the New York Central Railroad, Mr. V. being glad of enlightened treatment.

But consideration of the functional money, under Exchange, shows the ultimate comprehensive solution for overturning and bringing in the obstructive private interest. Anything tending toward the functional exchange

medium, which we have seen is in the direction of the postage stamp, must remove property from the instinct to control it for purposes of private gain. If the exchange medium is moved up to the stamp, which is of necessity destroyed in the using, there can be no hoarding. Consequently, the only value Mr. V. could ultimately get out of the New York Central would be simply the realization of operating it at cost, which would include his own salary. That is, under the stamp exchange he could have no incentive to charge more than cost. And he would no more do it without incentive than he would run his trains off the track.

In the Chicago clash of '94, seen as the more violent checking of the circulation in the State, we have the imminence of the precipitation of the principle of the subjection of the individual by the whole, being the new concept of property as limiting the private control by the full public use. The convulsion of the State through the momentary clogging of its movement was most pronounced at the crowded centres. But the whole country took the apprehension, while the cities were within the strain of going hungry. The food supply of New York was ten days ahead at the end of the strike; meat had advanced its price one third. Men realized the consequence of an unfelt pulse and fear looked out of faces.

But for the demoralization of the strikers through the interference of the Federal "omnibus injunctions" it is stated that the strike was within two days of success. Had the engineers joined solidly against the managers, added to a neutral court, it is certain that nothing could have averted the subjection of the railroads by the strikers, and this with order and organization. Had the strike prevailed it would have compelled arbitration. This would have recovered as action in the State the principle of the control of the private interest by the fact, that is, by the truth regarding the public interest. If the question of working eighteen hours a day, or the question of discharge without cause, or the rate of wages to be paid, is to pass for decision to a committee of the

State, if these questions come to be disposed of according to the demand of operative conditions, then the obstructive private interest has passed out of sociology and property comes to be read as use. The railroad manager on the one side and the employee on the other thus becoming subject to the fact of public need, to be passed upon by a body of competent men, amounting to the industrial adjudication on the public showing, we have attained to enlargement of the Trial by Jury—industrial arbitration. And we face the less violent revolution of the concept of property. It would be equivalent, under any name, to possession of property by the State and the decree of it as public function. Had the Chicago strike come through, it is clear, in view of these principles which must obtain, that the new Constitution would have been written in fact, as action in the State, abrogating the private ownership and asserting the public good as against the obstructive private control. The formal writing of the new Constitution at Washington would be but the recognition of the fact, irrevocable in the logic of action. It would seem to be a question of not long when the railroad employees can organize themselves close enough to compel this. The growing public support of organized labor stands as a factor. When the railroad employees are compact enough to force arbitration, while sustained by the public voice, there can hardly be question that the railroad managers will amicably meet the inevitable. Touching the organic State as fact, it must be seen that we have come to the parting of the ways.

It can hardly be doubted that under the growth of conditions which are pressing, with the crisis rearing itself in the State, that some court will be pushed to recognition of the decay of old forms. There is still the memory in jurisprudence of the English judge who was confronted by counsel with the statement that there was no law or precedent adequate to the correction of a wrong put upon the prisoner at the bar. "Then," said the judge, "if there is no precedent in English law for the correction of injustice to Her Majesty's subject, I will make one."

When in the future some advocate of organized labor stands at the bar of the court and hears the reminder that there is no instrument in American law for adjudicating the public interest against the private usurpation, as working justice to American labor, this advocate may turn to the judge with the rejoinder that industrial movement in the organization of labor discloses new organs in the State, which must be recognized. He will say that the Classes, as such organs, are organized and organizing. That without the recognition of the new organs, justice can no longer be administered to the subjects of democracy. It is at some juncture like this that we may expect an American judge to read out the old concept of property and pass over to the public use. The warring manager and the warring employee are likely to take a common status as disturbers of the peace in the public eye and before the court. In commanding not one but both parties to the bar the judge will say, with the advocate of organized labor, that new organs of State have risen and that he can but recognize the statute of fact ; that pursuant to this warrant he advances adjudication in the State and orders a jury trial of the industrial dispute. If the case be in its nature technical, properly belonging to adjudication by the Class within itself, the judge will say that in recognizing the Class he will have to recognize its autonomy, its capability of controlling its own affairs subject only to interference, to injunction from the State, when such control infracts the wider interest. Accordingly, if the dispute precipitating the crisis arises between the railroad men and their managers, the judge will order a jury drawn promiscuously from the railway men as a Class. This jury will determine the question in dispute. And we arrive at the subjection of the heads of the Class by the Class. The nominal legislation, or statute, can but follow what is, or be directed by the struggling forces. In what degree of this advance the judge will first feel compelled to move remains to conjecture ; but evident it is that the habit of the logical mind must tend to go over to the full recognition of the Organ,

as asserting the autonomy of the Class and providing the machinery of its adjudication. The signs of unrest in the State portend that this epigram of action in an American court cannot be far away.

We watch for any possible shape that the out-movement may take. For instance, it may assume the form and be so simple as committing the management voluntarily to the new Union in democracy, on the lines of the evolving public polity laid down. In any dispute between the management and the organized employees, the latter could remain at their posts, in charge of the road, and ask a favorable court to receive and account for all money which is brought in. As a part of the proper uses of the money, and entering into legitimate accounting, the court could indorse for payment at its bank of deposit all drafts for the necessary conduct of the road, including repairs, supplies and the wages of the men. The court, representing the public, could look to the body of technical service for efficient conduct of the road, in the practical logic that it turns for service to the integrate agency of service. The organized employees could go on with the running of the road as officered at the time they assumed its conduct, in this virtually electing such heads of service—simply through accepting them and working under their orders. Should any of the operating officials refuse to serve or be deemed incompetent, they may be replaced in election by the body of service, more simply through accepting such appointments as the judge would make on the advice of competent men. If the organized railroad body objected to any appointment of the judge it would, on formal vote of the service, be equivalent to a vacancy in the position, and the judge could appoint another man more acceptable—in the logic that the service must technically control if it is to be held responsible for efficient action. The position of the court need go no further than as regulation, or control, of the roads on the grounds of general State policy, pending the settlement of a dispute jeopardizing the public welfare. It is left for the “owners” of the roads to apply to the organized service for

settlement of the differences. If the men seem indifferent to proffers, not being averse to letting things continue as they are, the "ownership" can ask the court to erect machinery of arbitration, affecting the question at difference. In other words, the obstructive private interest finds itself passed in the movement of the State, and to get any standing at all submits its case to a jury, thus voluntarily abdicating the claim of "ownership," or absolute control. In the intricacies and quandaries of the situation into which the private claim is cast by the moving forces, it is glad to throw itself upon the good offices of the State, asking to be disposed of, and saved from its own dead and disordering concepts.

Or we may have the unique situation of the management itself on open strike against an organized service and the public interest, and assuming the attitude of obstructing the nominal and visible interstate commerce. For should the movement in the foregoing form precipitate itself before an integrate judiciary is at one with the principle, the railroad body erecting its receivership outside of the court, for an accounting of moneys, the management would, under the old concepts, ask for wholesale injunctions and warrants against the men in their possession of the roads—thus moving the judicial machinery against the railway service for a technical theft devoid of basis in fact, being the farcical denouement of the slaveholding lesion. The latter would be left the negative of the movement through the organized service passing over to the positive. We would find the management, through the court and sheriff, stopping service by dragging men from the stations and off the trains. Here would be the nominal and visible obstruction of commerce by the private interest, in its employment of the sheriff against the public need, and affording the strike of "property" against the operative railroad service. The position of the men is simply that, with the least inconvenience to the body of the State, they throw themselves upon the general sense, creating actual issue and asking judgment on a principle. They need only to

persist if they would compel judgment. And judgment is arbitration. The difficulty of the public withholding favorable verdict is that this position of the Class is its own position—that to-morrow any section or all of the operative State may need a like judgment by the public. And the difficulties of overriding the Class under forms not fitting its complaint are the difficulties which Burke pointed out to the Parliament, relative to the similar strike positive of the American Colonies. Burke's warning was: "You cannot indict a province." The idea was that a people must be met on the issue of the practical right of a question, and some ground of justice reached. Outraged men cannot be put by in any persistent attitude they may assume, when impinging the public sense of justice and demanding adjustment on the lines of a growing consciousness in the State. The men persisting in holding the railroad service for public regulation of a disorder, could only be permanently ousted by permanently jailing them, for on release they would endeavor to return to the service of the public in the running of trains. And persistent jailing of the Transportation Class would mean its housing and food at the public expense. Unjust incarceration has its own correction; it becomes popular. As to the families, who were without independent support, they could help themselves to any food in sight and be jailed as a consequence, and there housed and fed during the pleasure of the public. Or the families in stress could be supported by sympathetic organized labor in other fields. The public tiring of the extreme impact to which the movement had come, could compel arbitration of the dispute as the only outlet toward order. That is, on the final troublesome issue of differences in service, whatever particular form it assumes, we may say that the public would compel the abrogation of the obstructive concepts—through arbitration going over to the public control.

If, considering these portents, it is said that men willing to serve the common cause, in the only way left to them, and unarmed and submissive to arrest, will be fired

upon by the muskets of democracy, the answer is that then we are at an end of sober procedure in the State and we invite the whirlwind. The reminder to the slaveholding oligarchy is of all perverse assault upon right, down to Sumter.

Or, leaving the more disquieting views and looking beyond to the rising consciousness, we may see the people, through the court as instrument, moving to appoint a receivership of the roads in their failure to meet their obligations to the general public. Action would be taken under the primary contract of the State with the individual, which guarantees the latter equality of conditions, now known to be attainable only on the basis of cost service. Under this quality of the primary writing, the railroads are in hopeless arrears. The Government could only appoint a receivership and take over the roads as what remained to it after years of exploiting and theft by its disproved trustees, the railroad kings. In this event, the court would give the roads into the hands of the organized transportation body and require an accounting under the terms of the latter's primary contract with the State, namely, efficient service at cost.

The internal regulation of the Class conforms to the facts of service in the State. The formal relation of the Railroad Class to the public takes the shape of a contract, expressed or implied; and this is true of any Class. The organization of the Street Railway employees of Detroit now signs an annual contract with the companies. The latter, at this phase of the evolution of the State, stands in relation to the employees, or Class, as agent of the public in certain exactions of contract. The employees agree to serve for current wages. They agree to ample running of cars, observance of time-card, care of cars, collection of fares, comfort of passengers, etc. The railway manager, virtually on behalf of the public, agrees with the employees, virtually the Class, to pay the current wages and to conform to reasonable rules of service enacted, or endorsed, by the employees. The railway men have a labor ticket from their "union." It is agreed

on the part of the company to employ no man who is without the union labor ticket. This is at once the guarantee of skilled labor by the Class and its exaction by the public. Any employee violating the stipulations of the contract is suspended by the company, pending the action of the union as to the justness of the charge. The offending employee is put on trial by a jury of his Class, phase of the enlargement of the trial by jury, to determine what punishment should be recommended to the Company. In this case the manager in ordering discipline, as endorsed by the Class, virtually acts as head of the Class. The punishment may be a fine of ten days' pay; or, in more flagrant cases, trial and conviction would result in taking away the offender's ticket—whereupon he is debarred from the service and can no longer obtain employment at this business. There was a case of a Class trial of an employee who spoke offensively to a passenger; another, of a motorman who violated the rules in leaving his car in the yards, short of the barn.

The ethic of the organic Transportation has its interpretation in the measure of freedom it brings to men. We ask ourselves the significance of the spectacle of trains with large proportion of empty cars passing the potato fields of interior New York in the spring of '96 while the farmers burnt their potatoes to get rid of them, with Hester Street and the great East Side, in New York, going hungry. We also ask the reality of Mr. Depew, President of the New York Central, talking ethics at a Young Ladies' Seminary, while the above disorder over his own road was making its procession through the commonwealth. It is the difference between talking ethic, or the platitude of phrase, and the ethic of action—the ethic which is life.

The rising state of the public ethic, or insight into the disorder, shows in the growing attitude among the people favorable to Government ownership of railroads and in the growth of expression favorable to the labor organizations. The *New York Journal*, a present exception among New York papers, has taken position favorable

to organized labor and begins in its utterance to make reserved outleading for the people. Most of the provincial dailies supporting the Chicago platform incline to forward the advance in the public mind. Mr. Cowles' book, already referred to, indicates the growth of thought as toward order, and we see this also in the increase of pamphlets and leaflets on the public ownership of the transportation lines.

CHAPTER IV

FARMING : DISTRIBUTION : MANUFACTURES

If we give attention to the movement of commerce we find that the product of the soil, from gardening up through grain, fibre, stock-raising, and fruit-growing, divides into two important channels. One is the *food* industry and its distribution ; and the other the *textile*.

A boy by the country road will say that a load of apples passing is going to the dryer at the village—that it is going to the food manufacturer. And we gather that the dryer is going to send it to the stores in town to be sold; this is the further movement of food—its distribution. We have in this followed the whole movement of food from the farm to the consumer: the farmer is done with it in its crude state, his is the office of the production of the raw material ; the manufacturer is done with it in the finished state, when he hands it over to the storekeeper for distribution.

Again, we may learn that the countryman's load of wool is going to the Boston buyer at the village. In other words, it is going to the manufacturer at Boston or Lowell or elsewhere. And the boy will let us know that he bought his woolen stockings in the village after this wool had been spun and knitted in some factory and sent out. The store is the movement of the textile after it has left the manufacturer on its distribution. And the farmer's relation to the process of the textile in this instance is seen to be the supply of the crude product in the general movement to the consumer. The manufacturer's work is to supply the finished product to the counter.

Looking over the ground as a whole, corresponding to the instances given, we have in the food channel all the different crude products in their movement on to the food

counter, as culminating phase of Food. And in the other channel we have all the different raw textile products and their movement on to the dress-goods and other counter, as culminating phase of the Textile.

Various phases of the food manufacture, intermediate, or short of the kitchen as culminating phase, are enumerated in the industry of drying and canning fruits and vegetables, in the drying and canning of meats in the packing houses; and the starch factory, the glucose factory and other phases of the sugar works; candy factory, wine and beer industry, whiskey distilleries, tobacco manufacturing, flouring mills, etc. We see a more direct movement to the kitchen in the green vegetables and fruit, including potatoes, rice in the kernel, and all other products that do not need to pass through intermediate manufacture. This is simply the direct movement of the farm product to the cook without the intervening factory. Various phases of the textile manufacture, intermediate, and short of the made-up dress as culminating phase, are told in the tanning of leather, spinning and dyeing, and in the weaving of cloths, tapestries, carpets, etc.

As to fishing, we perhaps have to see it as a crude food production distinct in its methods from the crude farm production of food. Fishing, the going down to sea in boats, is so peculiarly technical in itself that it would not seem to have affiliation with the farming industry. Still, there remains a question about this; the farming of oysters or fish is after all not so technically separate from the growing of other animal life, like chickens or calves. Along the Chesapeake there are men who farm both oysters and potatoes. If we take the first view, the crude fish product is regarded as entering the food current from another source than the farming industry. Looked at thus, it would be a tributary stream to the food movement, but by itself technical.

The development of Food and Textiles is toward organization in their several phases, through to distribution of the manufactured product, organization effecting quality and

uniformity. The rise of organization, we should be reminded, is the growth toward division of labor and its consequent specialization and development of skill. It is but a few decades ago that both food and textiles had their intermediate manufacture to a great extent upon the farm. And it was the necessity of the farmer to largely distribute his own product. The movement has been away from this to specialization in shop and factory and trade. We know that when our fathers and mothers were children that wool was carded, spun and wove upon the farm. At the same time all the cheese and butter was made in the farmer's house. Some farmers spun a little more cloth than they needed and this they carried to a neighbor in some trade, or to the store and gave it for sugar or flour or molasses, or they traded it for shoes and boots to the shoemaker. And, similarly they took their butter or their cheese or their wheat or potatoes to the neighbor or village and got any article which belonged to the barter and trade of the time. In this narrow movement the farmer was his own manufacturer and his own distributor. The growth of things is but now obliterating the last vestiges of this.

When we were children the development in textiles had got so far along that the spinning wheel was becoming a curiosity. And the commercial drummer, the distributing agent, bringing the advance in product, began to make his appearance with his bag upon the village street. One of his novelties is called to this day "factory" cloth. And division of labor, or specialization, in both manufacture and distribution had in this degree found its development. The organization in manufacture had grown into the looms at Lowell, and the organization of distribution had developed centralization in the wholesale merchant and his agent upon the road. We see the result of this organization in the cheapening of the product and the raising of its quality. There came in the several grades of the plain "factory" cotton, from coarse to fine unbleached, and coarse to fine bleached, or muslin. Different grades were numbered and became stable in

their weight and quality. And similarly the calicoes began to uniformly grade themselves and to rise in quality and coloring effect. Finally the silks and cashmeres began to appear in the stores. And the ingrain carpets, graded in weights and quality, had displaced the old rag carpet. Then came the cotton and woolen stockings and the knitted hoods and gloves. The knitting needle had passed to the knitting factory and its multiplied and graded goods. Then followed the more complete phase of organization in manufacture, the made-up articles of every kind. Even in country stores a man, woman, or child can buy complete clothing; and there can be had pillows, pillow cases, bedding, window hangings, portieres, cushions, etc. The needle and the sewing machine in the house have fallen much into disuse.

It is more recent that the advance has become marked in the organization of the food product. When we were children it was still the custom to find a great mixture in sizes, quality and coloring of cheeses at the groceries. This was because every farmer who had sufficient milk made his own cheese. He would save the milk up for two or three days, if the weather was not too warm, and get so large a batch as he could, sufficient to make a cheese "big enough to sell." These cheeses, little and big, would be found ranged along on the hanging shelf of the farmer's cellar. They were subject to all vicissitudes; the weather was too warm and too cold in curing, and in the summer time, owing to lack of ice facilities for milk, the cheese was often bitter and hard. Certain farmers developed skill over their neighbors in the manufacture of cheese and obtained better prices. Those having the inferior facilities and skill began to take their milk to the others to make up for them in the one batch. From this it passed easily to the cheese factory at the cross-roads or in the village, and the higher and more uniform product. And instead of the farmer arranging to sell a cheese here and there, in trade for groceries or blacksmithing or shoemaking or with the painter or wagon-maker, the product now moved from the factory

to the wholesale distribution at the large cities. The wholesale or commission grocer to-day has standing contracts for all a given factory can make. The advance in butter has proceeded more slowly, owing to the less need in the earlier day of giving it over to the specialist, partly because butter can be made from a small quantity of milk. Many country stores, even within twenty miles of New York, still get some portion of their butter direct from the farmer, who sells it to them and takes groceries home. But where the farmers have any large amount of milk they go on the advantage of giving butter-making over to the "creameries," or factories. In place of the tub of butter on the counter, in rolls of all colors and sizes, most of the butter now comes from the manufacturer or the wholesale distributor in the uniform package and color of the creameries. This butter, save for faults in the care of it by grocers, comes to the table well-nigh uniform and as sweet as when lifted from the churn. And growth in order has tended to specialize the production to regions having good meadow land and water facilities for cattle, thus improving quality.

Looking at the sugar industry, we find the same growth through specialization in production, manufacture and distribution. In the earlier days the consumer obtained most of his sweets in the form of black New Orleans molasses or its coarse, brown crystalization. First the farmer dealt directly with the local buyers. Distribution began to move out through selling to the boatmen on the coast and interior waterways. Following this, the crude sugar began to pass to the more central point of the region. Now the crude sugar goes to the great sugar refineries of the American Sugar Company; and we find high quality and uniformity of grading, up to cut-loaf sugar, a marvelous example of the product. Cut-loaf sugar, and A., B., and C. sugars and pulverized loaf have reached the precision of mathematics. And the distribution of the product has built up parallel with the rise in manufacture, through the medium of the wholesale grocers, as more central phase.

In another direction in the food industry we see the same advance. This is the drying and canning, and the present high manufacture of cereals in the prepared oats, wheat, hominy, etc. They have all grown from commonplace of production and short movement to high grade with full distribution.

On the side of the movement in the meat product we see great progress. The farmer used to kill a beef or a pig and dicker with the country grocer and meat-market or peddle to the consumer. This was less than twenty-five years ago. In the preserved output, which came from the farmer or local butcher or grocer, there was lack of uniformity; much of it was over-salted or under-salted, some of the ham sugar-cured and some not, some barely smoked and some smoked black. The preparation of the product gradually began to pass to the larger packers of the nearest city, with quality rising. The organization then went over to the large packing houses seen in the Armour and Swift Companies at Chicago. In part, the main organ of distribution, the grocer, moves the product from the manufacturer and in other ways the movement of meats has organized itself entirely out of the farmers' hands. Even the village meat-market now gets its few quarters of beef by daily or weekly distribution from the Armour or Swift refrigerator cars passing up and down the railway lines and landing the quantity of beef that has been ordered.

The distinctions, or specific character, of the three phases of Food and Textiles—production, manufacture and distribution—take shape as related action from the demand by the consumer reaching down through distribution and manufacture to the soil. The wholesale grocer, in central phase of distribution, finds through his relations with the retailer, or food counter, that there is a certain demand for old, or sharp cheese, and a certain demand for mild cheese. Another form of the wholesaler, the commission merchant, finds that one kind of apple is more in demand in a certain region. Shippers will tell us that Cincinnati is the great point for the Bellflower apple. Again, the

wholesale grocer finds that pears put up without sugar have a certain demand over pears canned in a sweet liquor. They retain their natural flavor better and are counted higher grade. And the wholesaler finds, through the counter reacting the demand, that people want their products uniform in grade. If the people order a black molasses for some special reason, for flavor or other, they don't want the grade which is called light-drip. They wish to know what they are buying; it is a saving of trouble. In short, they want what they want. Again, it is found that the public taste varies. If for a time the people take a liking for more cheese than usual they are put out if they don't get it. Or demand may run to a novelty like the Club-House cheese, lately put upon the market, and consumers neglect old brands, leaving them to burden the market if the output has not been restricted accordingly. In course, the manufacturer seeks to know through the distributor what is going to be the probable demand on canned fruit, or dried fruit. And the manufacturer of prepared oats and other cereals seeks knowledge of the demand in his line so that the market will not be overstocked and clog. The central merchant supplies them this knowledge; he responds on one side to the direct demand of consumption and on the other side he reacts this demand upon the manufacturer.

From this the movement works down to the producer, the farmer, through the manufacturer reacting the demand which has reached him from the wholesaler. If there is a lessened demand for dried apples or pears the manufacturer will advise the farmer to cull closer and not bring in so many of the second quality, which go into the dried fruit, thus working them back into cider or food for stock. And in another year, when there is scarcity of fruit and the demand rises, the farmer will be told to bring everything to the canner and drier. Where there is great scarcity he will be instructed to increase his acreage of tomatoes and melons, as going to help out the want in the fruit line. On the dairy side, if the demand rises for sweet cream and correspondingly falls away on butter

and cheese, the manufacturer will react this upon the producer by lessening his make in cheese and butter, throwing more milk back, which must then take the course of the market toward sweet cream and milk. If there is a surplus all round, the milk makes food for stock, or fine concentrated manufacture, like cream cheese.

If we follow the detail of movement on the fabric side we find it taking logically the same course as food. The wholesale drygoods merchant reacts upon the manufacturer the changing demand for fabrics, and the manufacturer in filling this demand reacts it upon the producer of textiles, the farmer. Each phase of this movement has its examples, which anyone can fill in through the parallel with food.

We thus find the specific office of the organized distribution reacting the demand of the consumer upon the manufacturer; and we find the specific office of the manufacturer reacting this demand upon the producer; and the distinct office of the producer answering the demand of the manufacturer with the crude food product. Here we come to the inquiry concerning the several centralized movements of Food and Textiles—distribution, manufacture and farming—or the centralized organization of each in its own distinct field. We may first follow the centralized distribution.

The central distribution of Food and the central distribution of Textiles have their action as particular phases of the central distribution of all articles of consumption or demand of whatever kind. The department stores now becoming common in every large city represent the tendency of distribution to centralize under one general national head and under sub-heads. The stores of the Siegel-Cooper Company in Chicago and New York, and the stores of Mr. Wanamaker in Philadelphia and New York, represent the larger and more advanced of these. These stores undertake to supply everything that is an article of commerce. Their counters carry nearly everything, and should the demand come to them for anything not in stock, no matter how unusual, they say that they

will undertake to supply it. Their agents and buyers would on request deliver a locomotive or an elephant. In addition to the usual counters common to the grocery and drygoods stores, we find such counters as the post-office branch for sale of stamps and cards, railroad ticket counter, steamship tickets, advice at law, doctor, dentist, real estate, intelligence office, photography, coal and other fuel, drugs, furniture, meat and fish market, newsstand, bookstore, etc. In New York alone there are six of these stores, including Wanamaker's and Siegel-Cooper's. And there are a dozen measurably approaching them in extent. Whenever a store of the kind has started up in New York wonder has been expressed that a new one could live. But so far each one has secured trade and apparently without very much cutting into the business of the others. A small drygoods store in Third Avenue explains the phenomenon by the fact that the small stores have material falling off in trade in proportion as the department stores push their enterprise. This particular shop-keeper said it was getting difficult for him to make a living, that he worked for bare wages. He stated that his case was one of many with which he was acquainted. The department store of Abraham & Straus of Brooklyn, New York East, now reaches all of Long Island with its delivery wagons. The territory is divided into divisions with a man and his wagon for each division. This man takes orders when going the round of delivery. The orders are sent out to him by freight, with a delay of a day or two. Other department stores do the same in Westchester County. In portions of the region thus covered, the small shop-keeper is drying up in degree like the shop-keeper in Third Avenue.

The fierce contention among the department stores in the city must tend ultimately to drive them together into some alliance, making for centralization under one management. If it should not come in this way, it may come through one firm overshadowing the others and extending itself in branches over the city. Favoring this, we have a grocery firm lately pushing itself into upwards of forty

branches, or stores, throughout New York, touching the extreme suburbs. An article on sale at one branch is on sale at all. The firm's advertisements announcing bargains or new things apply to all stores, or branches—showing the tendency to bring the remote region under the favorable conditions of central distribution.

With the recognition that the growth of the department store must go on, we can anticipate the extension of its branches to the smaller towns and villages. In fact, in many sections of the country the growth toward centralizing distribution in the small towns and villages is already well under way. In towns of 2,000 to 5,000 inhabitants it is in general not uncommon to find a large store modelled on the lead of the department store. These stores carry drygoods, fresh meat and fish, bakery, ice cream, furniture, hardware, boots and shoes, and all the things in limited quantity that supply the village. As a result, shopkeepers handling single lines are getting in the same condition as the shopkeepers in relation to the department stores of the city. And in small villages the large general store is rising to displace the lesser dealer. In places of 1,000 or 1,500 people in various sections of the country it is common to find dealers who have given up their own business unable to exist, and have gone to clerk in the large general store in part centralizing the business of the village.

But regardless of the extent toward which this centralization has gone, either in the city or small town, the inevitable tendency must be seen as in this direction. And we see in it the ultimate complete absorption of all the retailers by the department stores, their former proprietors coming to handle a counter or department in these stores, corresponding to their technical knowledge or former line of business.

On that side of the more centralized distribution which is the wholesale and commission business we may observe the same tendency toward the one centralized organization represented in the retail stores. It is a common thing now to read in the advertisements of the big

department stores that a given line on which they are offering inducements was brought direct from the manufacturer. So marked is this movement of the department store to go by the wholesaler and deal direct with the manufacturer, that the wholesalers are beginning to attribute to it a stringency in their business. Former buyers and managers of departments in the wholesale houses have become buyers and managers for departments in the large retail stores. Where some of these men formerly represented wholesalers and importers as buyers of canned goods throughout the country, or buyers of fabrics from the domestic mills, or buyers of silk at Lyons, they now represent department stores in the same capacity. Though the movement has now gone far in the embarrassment of the wholesaler, the tendency must be still farther, and toward complete absorption of the wholesaler by the department store, if the latter is to continue to grow.

The organization of the present stage of the Centralized Distribution, seen in the department stores, indicates the organization of the Centralized Distribution as a whole in its ultimate growth. In the general outlook we have become aware that the distinction, or line of action, we call distribution has its technical character in knowledge of the demand in the State, and as the machine responding to this demand. In short, the specific character of distribution is that it knows what the demand is and how to fill it. In doing this its organization comprehends on one side the counter, or office, for reaching the people and delivering the goods, and on the other side it comprehends the office seen in the buyer for the store, the agency that is in touch with manufacture or other form of output and knows how and where and when to draw for its supplies to fill its warehouses and shelves. The general head has his office, on the one side, in organizing the service at the counter, and, on the other side, the service which draws upon the sources of supply. This is the movement of the general department store to-day, with its counters and its army of clerks and heads of de-

partments, and its buyers in the field using their knowledge to supply these. The heads of branches and departments in these stores make the advising lieutenants, with the proprietor as organizing head. The latter in his most advanced phase corresponds to the Distributor General of the organized distribution. Looking upon the department store as in line with the culminating growth, we see the natural head of distribution, the Distributor General, in one man like Mr. Wanamaker or the Messrs. Siegel and Cooper. The men now handling their branch stores and men handling the other department stores throughout the country would represent their heads of divisions, making their lieutenants or advising cabinet. Some portion of the big wholesalers also represent the type of men making either the Distributor General or heads of divisions.

In relation to the movement of distribution and subject to these managing heads, there are the men we have noted as in touch with manufacture and who have full knowledge of its movement in some particular feature: as, one man is familiar with the manufacturing output of a phase of the canned goods of the world; another man is familiar with some part of furniture manufacture; others with hardware, clear through to an engine or an iron girder. These men were formerly the buyers or managers for the big wholesale or commission houses and their place in distribution represents the absorption of the wholesaler. The present clerks or small proprietors in the retail trade have their place at the various counters in the department store as standing for the station of a locality. And with this we indicate in the organism the whole mercantile industry of whatever kind in the aspect of the centralized distribution, two phases of this being the distribution of Food and of Fabrics.

The further absorption of the movement of distribution by the one central organization on lines beyond the present growth, as seen in the department store, must have its indications in economic possibilities. We have seen how the department store, in going by the wholesaler to the man-

ufacturer in textiles, groceries, etc., has begun to organize and absorb the distribution as direct from the manufacturer to the counter in these lines of goods, making economic advance. It is along the line of all these economic invasions in the merchant business that we look for the ultimate total taking-over of distribution by the one general arm in the State.

The inquiry here arises as to the relation of distribution to direct delivery to the retailer which certain of the manufacturers have built up. We know, for instance, that the Standard Oil delivers to the retailer through its own direct agency. And we have referred to the movement of Mr. Armour's cars up and down the country, throwing out meat at any station on orders from the retailer. We ask whether these cases show a tendency for each line of manufacture in food and textiles to organize its own distribution and how far it is going to take over the general machinery of distribution seen in the wholesale grocer or the wholesale drygoods store; or whether this tendency to break away from the general machine will return to it? Or we may see this direct movement to the retailer not as a breaking away from the general machine in these lines, but as economic advance whereby a portion of the product is sent direct from the manufacturer to the retailer under the management of a central bureau of distribution. We see indications that the wholesale business has its direct phase from the manufacturer to the retailer, as well as the phase by way of the storehouse. The wholesalers now in many cases contract for car-loads of soap from the soap manufacturer and then give him orders to send a number of boxes to this dealer and a number to that one. This shows in a single particular how the phase of direct distribution has already become a part of the one general machine. And there are similar instances in almost every line of trade.

The department store, standing for the development, must give the indications of growth. In one instance we may take the meat counters and meat storage rooms of the Siegel-Cooper Company. These now replenish them-

selves direct from the depots of the big packers on the order of the store. The department store extended so that it invades the whole area of consumption, the entire meat movement must come under its order. The refrigerator cars of the packing-houses, which now move up and down the country in the delivery of meat, would thus ultimately have their movement directed by the general organization. And in so far as the manufacturer of meats has now organized his distribution we see that it would be given over to the one general organization. Again, the Siegel-Cooper Company gets its cloth, furniture, etc., direct from a manufacturer. The reality is that these goods move on the orders of Distribution so far as the latter is at present developed. Extend the department store to cover all consumption, and these goods, like the meat, move from the manufacturer in every instance on the orders of the Centralized Distribution. And so far as the wholesaler or commission man has organized the distribution of these things, it would be absorbed by the one counter.

The economies of the thing lean to this outlook. For instance, a distribution superintendent of division in organizing the supplies to a given region of distributive stations, or department stores, could replenish them periodically as a whole. He would know that the demand is once a week for so many sides of beef and other meats and so much cloth of specific kinds and so much hardware material, so many potatoes. And this periodical supply of a region, covering a longer or shorter time, as the need showed, would move in general supply trains. Instead of a fragmentary invoice put out at a town or station, a train with cars covering all adequate supplies would stop, the one general movement going on under a supply superintendent of the train. Opposed to this, we have the apparently wasteful alternative of the canned goods' manufacturers sending out supplies on hit and miss orders; or the boot and shoe men, or the dairy men; and so extending to the whole field of distribution. This improbable and confused spectacle is of

course the reverse of centralization, out of which the present tendency is working.

In the organized movement of supplies to the distribution stations we can reckon the less frequent period for moving staples that are not perishable, like clothes, canned goods and hardware. These could be moved each month or each quarter. And for the perishable goods like meats and dairy products we can reckon the lesser space of periodical distribution at weekly, tri-weekly or every day. In the movement of fresh vegetables or milk and cream, the period would be so short as daily, or the half-day, as now. Perishable fruits or meats could not well leave the hands of the producer or manufacturer except for immediate distribution. Fresh meats, under this view, would leave the hands of the manufacturer when requisition was made on him for the immediate moving of a periodical distribution train or for any emergency requirements. The fresh meats, leaving the slaughter houses only on demand for immediate distribution, would seem to come into the control of the agents of distribution at delivery by the packing houses on board the refrigerator cars properly stocked with ice for the run. Similarly, perishable fruits only leave the producer on the demand for immediate distribution, the storage and technical care of the fruit up to this delivery belonging to the fruit men. And in some of these cases, requiring technical care in transportation, the product would have the attention of a storage man delegated for the purpose. And it is a general proposition of distribution that no article, perishable or otherwise, leaves the manufacturers' hands and his technical care of it except on demand for carrying it direct to the counter of delivery, that is, to the large department store and its attached storerooms. The periodical distribution trains would receive in car lots from the manufacturers, through the centers, and proceed to distribute over any given division. The modification of this rule, worked out under its development, requires to have certain reserves at centers for supplying cases of exceptional need. These central warehouses would have

accumulation sufficient to meet telegraphic orders for extra barrels of sugar, crates of eggs, or boxes of raisins, sides of beef or any other supplies that some distribution station might need to carry it over to the arrival of the periodical movement. These, of course, would come down from the center by the regular express trains.

Agreeing with this, we see that in the distribution of kerosene oil the product will be in charge of the oil producer up to the point where it is delivered on board the tank cars or other vehicle. The present distributive machinery of the Standard Oil Company this side of the refinery could pass under the control of the organized distribution. The storage tanks of the different towns and the tank wagons for delivery from house to house are attachments of the various distributive stations. They would deliver oil to the consumer under the best conditions for handling it, as they would sugar or butter.

The coal movement, after its delivery on board cars, would belong to distribution. It would move in slow trains, accommodating convenience, like other non-perishable and bulky products. We see reserves of coal moved up during the summer, in anticipation of winter consumption.

There are apparently conflicting questions which arise under the assertion of the total absorption of delivery by the organized distribution. One of these is whether this would mean the handling of mail matter. But we have to see that the delivery of mail is a technical business in itself, corresponding to production or manufacture. Its creative action, its peculiar technical doing, is that distinct phase of the State which we have seen as the circulation of intelligence. It only fulfills its function, only completes its action, with the full delivery of the letter, telegram or other message entrusted to it. The sending of a written letter, a telegraph letter or printed matter is the manufacture of a product peculiar to the mails; the finished product of this manufactory is the action which drops the telegram, or other carriage of intelligence, at the door of its destination. But we may see that this

manufactured product should properly be on sale at the distribution station. We should be able to buy stamps there for telegraph letters or other form of intelligence carriage. And we should be able to file a telegram at such a counter. As to the main telegraph office being at this counter we see that it need not be, any more than a boot and shoe factory need locate along with the sales counter for boots and shoes. But the telegram may be received, as it now is at the hotel telegraph station, and forwarded by tube or short wire to the central telegraph office of the region or city, belonging to the manufactory of mail carriage for that section. Though the practice is growing of selling stamps and receiving letters and messages at the doors of people's homes, still a central counter for these things apparently has its place. Any such counter may be thought to locate in the central distribution station of each locality.

On the question of the delivery of gas or heat by pipes we have to see, for instance, that the gas main or hot-water main and their branches are a part of the technical business of heating or lighting that has not fulfilled itself until the consumer can directly turn on his light or his heat. And the same thing applies to the distribution of electricity as fuel or power. Distribution of water through pipes must be seen as subject to the same description as lighting and heating in the character of its delivery. Similarly, as seemingly incongruous with central distribution, we have the delivery of food in the dining-room of a hotel. In this last case we may regard distribution as meeting the demand by putting its clerk at the dining-room. Though he is not located at a counter in the store strictly, he is still at a counter of the central distribution, as phase of its organization and under its direction. This delivery of table food can well be under the rules of the general merchant; it may be apprehended as phase of distribution direct from maker to consumer, but supervised and ordered by the central movement. And touching the distribution of light, heat, and electricity as raised, they may be seen as passing through the central station

if we regard the reality of delivery as the transaction between the clerk and the consumer. People do not now go to the gas factory to order or pay for their light, or to the boiler house to order heat, or to the reservoir to order the water turned on. They go to the more central office in town. Transference of these offices, as lighting and heating counters, to the central distribution station is but a parallel to the real estate counters which we already find there. The business of distribution is essentially effected where the transaction takes place; the delivery may be under any form that the economy of distribution directs. Under conditions like that of the delivery of food to the hotel dining-room or club it may be said that distribution simply modifies itself on the demand and supplies its counters wherever needed.

And here the question may present of how far distribution has to do with moving the crude product from the hands of the producer to the manufacturer. The answer must be that this is open to inquiry and that it is one of the developments of practice, the present status of which can better be known. This movement to the manufacturer seems now to be collection by him through his agents in touch with the producer in his special lines. We see that the Boston or Lowell buyer, practically as agent of the manufacturer, now goes into the country and appoints his agents to advise the farmer about the product and to make the demand on him for shipment to the manufacturer. This collection, the machinery of its movement, is organized by the manufacturer in many lines at present. The Standard Oil Company collects the crude product. The big packing houses to a great extent now have their own collection organized; they have agents out among the rendezvous points for the herders and drovers; and in cases where the drovers and herders bring the cattle to the stock-yards at Chicago the packers have their technical collection agents buying from them. And the speculative drover, buying from farm and herder, is practically collection agent for the manufacturer and working under his direction, for he closely re-

gards the prices and demands of the manufacturer. The machine of the manufacturer, in all these instances, virtually takes the crude product at the point where it leaves the producer's hands. We may take this for what it indicates. The distinct office of the centralized distribution seems at present to be the organization of the delivery of the more finished product. The technical field of distribution may not extend, for instance, to the collection of apples for the first stage of manufacture and a knowledge of when they are fit for drying and canning. And on the other hand it may not extend to the collection of hides and technical knowledge of conditions for tanning and care of product ; this may belong to the manufacturer and his agents of collection. And distribution may be seen as receiving its green fruit, for instance, from the manufacturer if we regard the latter as standing for the technical knowledge which decides quality and grade of fruit relative to the demand by the former, and which determines what is fitted for delivery direct and what should go through dryer and canner. Apples, fresh or dried, are on their way to a phase of the counter of distribution when they are going to the hotel or restaurant. They are there delivered to the consumer by the clerk of distribution, and Food may be said to have established a phase of its manufactory in conjunction with this counter, according to the operative conditions of the State. Or we can say that the manufacturer in getting his green apples or other unfinished product to the kitchen, as phase of food manufacture, conveniently uses the regular machine of distribution, to an extent, instead of creating his own agency in this particular. And this whole analysis applies to the like movement of any unfinished product. In other words, distribution incidentally performs according to whatever economic demand is made upon it parallel with its more controlling feature, or main movement, as of the finished product. This seems to line with the general analysis of the distinction, or specific character, of production, manufacture, and distribution. The question, however, may be held to have its final answer in the fuller

growth of things. At most, it is hardly more than incidental here.

The special qualifications and relations of workers and the supply and recruiting of the service of the present organized distribution, as seen in the department store, develops on the same lines up to full attainment. The technical thing in the service of distribution is that the man at the counter handling any particular line of goods and the man working in relation to him as outside buyer, or procurer, knows what the demand is and how to supply it. This we have noted is the mercantile business in its organic reduction. Mr. A. T. Stewart had a man at his glove counter who had been with him in that particular calling forty years, a Mr. Francis. The story of this man's service contains the technique of distribution. He had twelve clerks at his counter. The work of these men was under perfect supervision. Mr. Francis was in close attendance at the counter himself and his affection for the business had worked his own knowledge and method into his assistants. His most pressing injunction to his associates, illustrated in his own treatment of customers, and the rule of Mr. Stewart himself, was to give the truth about any article at his counter. The admonition to his men was to underpraise or understate an article rather than overstate it—to be on the safe side of the truth. He would say it is better to have a customer when he gets home find that a thing goes beyond what he bargained for, rather than the reverse of this; he will come back in the end and bring two more with him. Another rule was to find out what a customer wants and to be careful not to obtrude upon his tastes; Mr. Francis would say it is time enough to instruct a customer when we are sure that he is anxious to have us. "Our business," he would repeat, "is to supply a customer with what he wants." Another point was to give the customer quiet courtesy and the information he asks for as far as possible. There was the injunction: Learn a customer so that when he returns you will be able quickly to get him what he wants without troubling him to explain. It

came to be that Mr. Francis' day at his counter was a procession of old friends. Men coming up the aisle after gloves would look to catch his face. Other clerks, for any length of time at the counter, came also to have their friends. A customer coming in and finding his clerk busy would linger by until he could get up to his man. Mr. Francis' habit with a purchaser illustrates the habit and organization of the counter. Were you an old customer he would reach instantly for the box containing your gloves. He would ask to see your last pair and want to know how much you had used them. He would say, "Now I sold you that glove last November; it hasn't done as well as I expected." Or in another case, answering also to the truth, he would say, "That glove has turned out pretty well, hasn't it?" Because he was truthful, he seldom had any trouble in getting the customer's mind or in getting the customer to agree with him. It is seen in these incidents that the principle of the business of distribution was with this salesman to get the wants of his customers, so studying the demand, and also to reach out to supply this demand. His knowledge of wear of gloves and the needs of the glove trade worked back through the buyers to the manufacturer. The result was that the glove supply at his counter came pretty well up to the needs of wear. The further point to be gained in the study of Mr. Francis, as indicating the centralized merchant, is that he organized his phase of distribution; that is, he did his part with the best service possible. A single incident more than the foregoing may be added to illustrate this. When a clerk reached for a box of gloves and opened them to supply a person the organization of the business required that the proper glove be at hand. On such an occasion Mr. Francis was once heard to say to his clerks, "Why aren't there three dozen pairs of gloves in this box? The man who handled it last has not refilled it." And the sales stubs instantly located the delinquent. In short, we see that specific distribution, illustrated in this action, is to know the want and how to supply it, with efficient organization of the service to this end.

Of course, the extension of the organization of distribution on these lines beyond a counter like that of Mr. Francis' means the supplying of all glove counters in the country and also of all other counters. It provides the divisions of labor covering the separate phases of merchandizing, each man in his own line knowing his own business and organizing it, as Mr. Francis did his. The meaning of the organization of distribution as a whole under a general supervising head simply is that all these different phases, or organs, work together through this head and help each other out, using the same machinery as far as economy dictates. In local delivery they measurably use the same means, going over the same route as far as may be. Or, in bringing goods to the distribution station they may all in measure use the same machine for moving them. The one general organization does the work for all lines. For instance, the periodical replenishment of counters can, as we have seen, go under one general movement by supply trains. Whereas, if there is no conjunction or working together each counter will have to be separately supplied by an independent organization, making as many independent machines of distribution as there are specific lines of business. Again, if all the lines of distribution in any locality cannot be united under one head, supervising them as to promptness and efficiency of movement, then there is no central office or head responsible for the movement of a section. The customer has to look to a supervisor, or head, for each line of business, and we at once face the discursiveness and fatigue of the present method of fixing responsibility in distribution.

The business on its recruiting side is and must always be essentially that of the apprentice. The efficient buyer, for instance, has his assistant in service who gradually becomes a substitute. At the glove counter, a clerk under a Mr. Francis would in time come to know enough about gloves in both the demand and the supply to take his place. And somebody would in turn take his. The qualifications are the aptitude and the inclination in a man

for a given line of distribution on the general principles of technique which we have pointed out.

The question may be here considered of the feasibility of putting men in charge of the sale of goods who have not the technical knowledge belonging to actual practice in the manufacture of a given line. The answer seems to be that it is feasible in the present development of things and apparently it is the line of further development. The good merchant or salesman at the present time has technical knowledge of an article only so far as he knows its qualities in relation to demand. If the principle of having actually made a thing before one can handle it as distributor is to obtain, then a clerk would need to be able to make pianos before he could sell one; or, if a news clerk, he would have to be able to write, print and bind books. And we can only expect that distribution could go forward at a counter with a clerk for every individual item, in any line of production. At the present time it is a very easy matter for one clerk to handle a considerable line of drygoods supplies and dress notions, but if a clerk has got to know every item by having engaged in its manufacture then we would have a dozen clerks instead of the one. The controlling principle, the economy, therefore, appears to rest simply in the technicality of distribution itself:—sufficient knowledge of an article to intelligently wait on people, as making division of labor with technical skill in manufacture.

The organization of the manufacture of Food and Fabrics centralizes on separate lines, after their technique; and they may be seen as typical of the centralization of all manufactures, not as a general whole, but on separate lines according to technical requirements. The organization of the food manufacture centralizes in its full function—cooking. To realize this we have to see that the manufacture of all foods gets its direction or control through the master chef, or cook. The packing-houses, for instance, so far as they lay claim to any perfection in their output urge upon us that their goods are made after the formula of the best cooks, or that their goods are endorsed by some

cook finished in his business. Eggs brought to the best restaurants have to be delivered on the orders of the cooks who prescribe their care or their age. Cannors of vegetables under whose demand farmers plant particular kinds of corn or lima beans will say that they prefer a given kind of sweet corn or lima because the cooks refuse any other. The prescription for how long a beef shall hang and the cutting and disposal of the different parts corresponds to the rules of the cooks. The prepared soups now common in the groceries are essentially the outcome of development in cookery. All canning and other preserving of fruits and meats must be seen as process in cooking. It is in the same light that we have to regard manufacture of sugar; this grades on the demand of the kitchen. The different beverages for the table belong to the one general system of manufacture. The directions for the preparation of teas, coffees and chocolates, have their culminating control in the cook. One may continue the enumeration to find at each point that it returns to the principle we have raised, namely, that the directing control of the service lodges in the kitchen. Its organizing head is the cook.

Textiles, in principle the same as food, organize through the function of finished output, dress of whatever kind, as directing head or control. The finished dress applies both to the dress of the person and of the room. The dress of the person embraces every description of inner and outer clothing, including foot and head covering. The dress of the room embraces every phase of its upholstery furnishings—the hangings of door and window, the rugs on the floor, and seat and cushion coverings and bedding.

The determination of styles and colors in cloths by such tailors as Poole of London and Worth of Paris are well-nigh controlling in the fabric make. The manufacturers of “dress goods” wait upon designers, not starting their looms until such leaders have given them out. On the other hand the makers of hangings and carpets wait

for the designs through the leading decorators. Of course in both lines there are fabrics continually in the looms, which may be called staple, being in effect ordered by the tailor and upholsterer through their more constant use.

If now we see that the dress of the room and the dress of the person have each their realities in the fitting to form, we reduce them both to the same technical craft or line of business—Dress. The general head of Dress in his organization does not make any distinction in principle between the hanging of a coat and the hanging of a curtain. These are so many phases of the one business involving the same technique of art. And we have the unification or centralization of the textile business—the Dress Class.

The manufacture and disposition of the finished food has its several phases which we see around us, according to the demand, but tending to become more compact. There is the public restaurant, club or table d'hôte located at some central point in a community or section of community. In the development of the department store, or central distribution station, we see it locating there in conjunction with the food counter. The Siegel-Cooper store and others now have their restaurants. This would tend to gather up the scattered and inefficient kitchens. Again, we see the lunch counter in the saloons and at the theatres and other gathering places of the people. In the development of organization these follow the same law that created them, they finding their location in any central meeting place of the people, thus putting into one the numerous and half-appointed lunch counters of a neighborhood. The hotel kitchen claims another feature of the demand in the finished food, and tends to centralize along with the more evenly distributed and organized hotels. The development must be, of course, toward a modicum of the extremes of the present hotel system. Instead of the display and extravagance of the Waldorf at New York, and instead of the Bowery lodging house or the ill-conditioned country hotel, we have the substan-

tial and well-conditioned hotel which strikes a middle line. With the advance in cookery, the kitchen and dining-room of these hotels would be everything desirable. Still a further and final phase of the food demand takes the form of the domestic table. This inclines to modify and organize. People more and more tend to take a portion of their meals outside of the house. They go to the hotel or club or restaurant a part of the time, as the wish strikes them. And people send out to the nearest restaurant or hotel or other food supply to have a meal served in the house. This latter phase has in some portions of the country taken the form of a kitchen and dining-room central to a group of houses, usually called a club or casino. The subscribers to the place can go to the dining-room attached to the kitchen for their meals or they can have them sent and served in their own dining-room. This would probably tend in the future to place as feature of the restaurant at the central distribution station. From this kitchen and dining-room or from other phase of the food supply people could take their choice between having the cooked or uncooked food sent in, or of walking out to get their meals.

There is now an outleading in some quarters toward organization of the finished food. This is seen in the DeLunett chain of restaurants, extending among the Atlantic seaboard cities from Baltimore to New York and Boston, with several branches of the one organization in each town. We have the Kohlsaats restaurants or lunch counters covering portions of Chicago. A more striking example of this organization is the Duval chain of thirty to forty restaurants in Paris. This company owns its own slaughter-houses, in so far controlling the intermediate phase of food. In London there is a chain of eating houses conducted by the Aerated Bread Company. And there is much centralization in the various lines of the intermediate manufacture of food in this country, already referred to. These advances are well known under such names as the American Sugar Trust, the Flouring Mill Combines, the Whiskey and Beer Trusts, the American

Tobacco Company, the American Biscuit Company, the Chicago meat industries, the Rochester fruit preserving factories, and others.

We have to consider in a word the method of the working together of the various parts of the food industry, from the finished cooking down through the various antecedent stages. This is but to systematize conditions which we have seen as already prevailing, namely, that the various phases of food manufacture now recognize their control by the immediate agent of the food demand, that is, by the cook. The reality is, therefore, to erect over the whole movement the organizing cook in the person of some such man as Mr. Kohlsaas or Mr. Dennett or Mr. Delmonico. Such a man is the Food General for the country. At once we see his lieutenants, or cabinet, in chiefs of divisions—like Mr. Armour, for the meat industry; Mr. Havemeyer, for the sugar refineries; Mr. Washburn, for the flouring mills; Mr. Duke, for the tobacco industry; Mr. Curtis, for the fruit-preserving industry, etc. There is also a Vice-General or lieutenant in the person of his manager of the finished food, his chief of the kitchen division. Mr. Armour or Mr. Havemeyer, etc., organize their phases of the industry as now, except that they are subject to the general rules established by the Food head. We have to recognize that they are subject to such rules now, except that they are not sufficiently controlling. The change is from quasi direction to absolute direction by the cook in all departments of the manufacture of food. The chief of the kitchen division also organizes his field, much as Mr. Duval or Mr. Dennett, or Mr. Kohlsaas now organize theirs, but subject to the general rules of the head of Food. We see that in the ultimate growth no ham can come out of Mr. Armour's factories and no dish can come from the organized kitchens that do not pass under the formula of the master chef. All phases of Food are subject to his inspection and order and that of his aides.

In the Textile, we see that the manufacture of the fin-

ished dress has of late in some lines commenced to locate in immediate conjunction with the looms. Overalls and other coarse clothing are now in measure making at the factories. The growth continuing this way, there obtains the direct movement from the factory management to the distributing station, or department store, the factory completing manufacture and absorbing the independent phase of Dress seen in the tailor and the large clothing manufacturer and his sweat-shop. The phase of finished dress belonging to the room in much now comes direct from the looms; this is rugs, portieres and other hangings. The upholsterer of beds, chairs, etc., in coming under the centralized management of Dress, may locate according to the economics of manufacture. It may be at the furniture factories, though they be apart from the looms; or the furniture, as is much the practice at present, may be brought to the upholsterer, at the loom or elsewhere. A phase of the organic dressmaking is the demand for tailors and upholsterers in every locality, sufficient to meet the wants in alterations and repairs or to make dress to order.

The relation of all the phases of dress manufacture to demand, or distribution, are now essentially operative in the department store. This has its counters, or departments, of men's and women's hats and foot-wear; and there are the men's and women's and children's garment departments. At these counters one can get every article of dress in finished form. Or if one cannot be suited with this, single articles or suits are made to order. These stores are now developing repair and cleaning departments which call at the home for a suit, or any article of apparel. They renovate and mend dress and restore parts. They clean and rebind a skirt or cloak, iron a silk hat, clean and rebind a coat, etc. This is to distribute repair. On the side of the house dress, these stores now furnish awnings on order and send out and put them up. They put up every description of window and door hanging. They new upholster divans or chairs or they restore them. They finish and deliver bed clothes, pillows and

mattresses; supply divan or chair cushions, rugs, mats, hammocks, etc. In short, the manufacturer, through distribution, dresses the person or room complete, and repairs or restores them.

The need pressing for centralized manufacture and distribution in food comes up daily in the common incidents of trade. Recently a company has attempted to place upon the market a butter that should be of a high uniform quality. It is put up in bricks covered in paraffin paper. A grocer of Third Avenue, New York, instead of storing in his refrigerator left the bricks in a pile on his counter. He did this through hurry and disorder in his establishment, from short facilities. When the product came to the table of his customers it had deteriorated. We also find careless or ignorant grocers and cooks storing their olive oil and eggs in warm rooms. The need is apparent of a central head on the one hand to call the distributor to account, and on the other the manufacturer. Under an efficient head in each case they would be ordered. The manager of a food counter or a manager of kitchens permitting flagrant faults would inevitably be de-graded to the ranks.

And in the everyday incident we see the demand for the centralization of dress, making for adequate execution on economic lines. One going to the dress counter of the present distribution station, or store, will be struck with the uncertainty and irregularity of the grading of dress. It is much a shuffle. The mixture ranges all the way between elaborate substantial articles and the most flimsy cotton production, that loses its shape and color in the first wash. In the grading of handkerchiefs at a counter the buyer may be confused with as high as fifty kinds and qualities, ranging from five cents to a dollar; and there are handkerchiefs in lace that run up into the hundreds—representing inordinate toil and exhaustion of life. And the same thing is true of the grading in window curtains. These range from five cents a yard to \$5,000 a

curtain, the latter representing sometimes five years of a peasant woman's unpaid labor. And garments grade from trousers or coat of one dollar cotton jeans or a fifty-cent calico gown up to the \$5,000 brocade and lace garment of a "society" ball.

Management through centralization has to put out the confusion and extremes and bring in the economic grading. In the lowest grade there is the dress on the order of ducking for the work that requires to wash its clothing ; it has its coloring corresponding to the uniformed service—the white ducks as working uniform for street sweepers, the yellow oiled duck for fishermen, etc. There is the light and heavy grade of wool with the appropriate coloring for uniformed service. There is the light and heavy graded linen or duck for general wear in warm weather. And we may measurably cover the general wear for the year in a dozen of the light and heavy Scotch and American suitings, common to the present dress counter. Two or three sizes of handkerchiefs in uniform grade would similarly put out the confusion in this line. The advanced designs in upholstery show rugs of plain colors adapting to any color of the room. The designs in curtain hangings and seat upholstery are approaching the same simplicity where the advance idea controls. Instead of the distracting thousand of glaring and discordant patterns in the dress of the room, we see the possibility of reducing them to a dozen plain colors of two or three uniform grades. If we extend the same reduction to all items in dress we tend to medium lines and bring in the corresponding great economy in manufacture, with saving in time and every form of expenditure. This waits upon men now handling advance in manufacture coming to turn their management upon the whole dress movement.

The centralizing of food and dress manufacture and distribution already has the effect, as indicated, of lessening the small shop keepers and the little stores, restaurants, saloons, small tailor shops, drygoods stores, gro-

ceries, etc. This tendency must continue until the great central manufactures and the distribution stations take all over to themselves, supplanting the thousand isolated little shops that fret the face of the city. In crowded places this will enlarge the light and air. We see opening the windows of the city. The space saved in the populous centers is so great that people can more live on the ground, with lawn and trees. And a single one of the centralized depots can supply a village at less cost than the multiplicity of small shops which now contain little in the adequate sense. People in the country will be as well supplied as the people in town. It is the disappearance of the isolation and disadvantage of the village. And as the central distribution station would place in the city convenient to foot or tramway in areas of a few thousand people, so it would locate in the center of a few thousand population embracing the village and its surrounding country.

In all ways the disorder has to be displaced. The centralized manufacturers tend more to locate wherever conditions of motive power and transportation dictate, the population growing to them as is now general. We see the present textile manufactures of New England enlarged beyond economic conditions. These originally located on water courses for the power they supplied. They have grown beyond this and now require the transportation of enormous tonnage of coal long distances, as also of the crude textiles. The natural development of manufactures is to equalize their location over regions lending themselves in motive power and other favoring conditions. The drift is already away from congested New England to the water courses of the South and West and to the great coal regions of Alabama, Illinois, etc. Niagara may ultimately draw to its region much manufacture.

In an instance of local distribution we may see some of the disorder and waste of the present decentralization, which tends to become ordered through growth. At a certain flat house in Stuyvesant Square, New York, five different groceries make deliveries at nearly the same

hour of the day, employing five delivery wagons and from five to ten men. It is a proper estimate to say that around the Square, within a stone's throw, twenty different groceries deliver goods with the same waste of time and machinery. The delivery for a morning could come in one sizable wagon for the Square, more or less. The Post Office, an organized institution, with one man delivers mail to an equivalent of the whole Square. The delivery wagons of the grocers constantly cover each other's tracks; the mail-carriers, never.

Other features of the waste, tending to be displaced, in both manufacture and distribution, are the enormous advertising by posters and newspapers, and rival agents drumming trade on the road. We can compare this with the organized mail and its simple announcements of its operations in bulletins and newspapers, and its minimum of traveling and advising agents.

We may see in a recent occurrence a more acute aspect of the disorder, proposing its own solution in centralization. In the fall and beginning winter of '96, fishermen on the south shore of Long Island and for a stretch on the Jersey coast were catching cod in such quantities that the undersized were thrown out of boats on the shore and the balance sold wholesale, delivered in the New York market, at half a cent per pound. Pleasure fishing parties were catching the fish in wasteful quantities; if they brought them ashore they many times threw them out in the fields to rot. At points on Great South Bay, Long Island, cod could hardly be sold. Fishermen tied up their boats. People in New York City and interior parts of the country were receiving little if any benefit, either in supply or reduction of price, from an enormous run of fish. Parallel with this, thousands of bushels of apples were rotting in the interior of the country, in New York state and all the New England territory, and in the West. Apples hardly paid the farmer for picking them—in many cases they were left on the ground. At the time of this run of cod the fishermen on Great South Bay went hungry for apples. Their children passing along

the road picked up partly rotted apples from the ditch and ravenously ate them. We have to ask ourselves how far this stasis in the movement of fish and fruit is referable to the lack of centralization in Food and Distribution ; how far the local congestion of food is due to the lack of organization of the Food and Distribution Classes? We have also to refer this stagnation to the strangulation tax by Transportation—an effect of the disorganization of carriage and its corresponding ill-adjustment with other Classes. The great economies in trade evidently wait upon organization in all the various fields.

The Farming Class organizes on the production of the crude Food and Textile. We come to forecast the ultimate lines of organization in the Farming Class as it shapes to economic relations with other Classes—as it shapes in the Whole. We ask whether the farmers will be a single distinct Class in their entirety? The necessary rotation of crops would probably be considered against a distinct food farmer or a distinct textile farmer, persistently. The same land will in large part have to produce these crops in rotation, and meat and wool go along with good general farming. Although in some directions distinct stock, or grain, or fruit districts have developed, it is a question of how far it makes against the collective Farming Class, there remaining the union of the two great sections of the Class, the Textile and Food, since grain growing associates with textiles. There remains also, after all is said, the central function of soil cultivation, seeming to bind the farmers into one whole. However, the logic of organization in the effective, the logic of action, must determine this finally. We watch to see how it will shape. These unfolding things, not peculiar to this Class alone, carry their store of sensations for tomorrow.

The Farming Class is backward in organization. This is attributable in much to their isolation and the difficulty of unifying so large a body. Contact gives impulse to organization through common understanding of interests and desire for association. Men to organize must be

quicken by habit of association and such common movement of idea that they attain to the same level of project. An organizer of the railroad men or the iron-workers or the miners finds them comparatively easy of compass and feasible to his project. They are not so numerous as the farmers and they are found collectively in bodies, more than are the farmers. Through contact these workers acquire habits of conserving ideas and following projects by leaders. Were the farmers so circumstanced that they could be brought under singleness of idea in the movement of common interest they would more advance in organization, like other workers. Confronted by the isolation of the farmers, and the vastness of the body, ten times that of other Classes, men with projects of organization fall off in the attempt to bring them together. Could organizers have the advantage of being able to bulletin daily and hourly the whole farming body progressive unity would come in. Organization here seems thus to wait in part on advance in communication, the reality of contact and association.

Suppose, for instance, an organizer among the farmers had the means of proposing to them that the body unite by a majority vote on some project in government advantageous to themselves. And suppose that on such proposition he could quickly get the voice of the whole farming body, and then could in turn speedily bulletin the majority sentiment to all. The proposition might be put to them of having railroad fares settle to a uniform rate of five cents the country over. The vote could then be quickly bulletined back. With a vote found to be adverse it would be possible to turn round and bulletin the more striking reasons of those who voted for the project and also bulletin the salient reasons of those who voted against it, either in the form of brief messages or by short leaflets. Often the opinion of all the people is all the truth. Then another vote could presently be taken and the result posted. If through a number of such turns the favoring vote fell away, a new proposition could then be put forward, that might be deemed advantageous

to the farmer. It would be thought that in such flux of idea there should work out in some direction a unity among the farmers and the habit of acting together on the lines of their clearer interests. This can be carried out after a somewhat tardy process by the use of the mails and leaflets and by starting propaganda clubs at nuclear points, having direct object in uniting on some definite project, like specific Government ownership and its effective conditions, the "referendum." But whatever the means, the principle of getting them together is on a definite project clearly involving their own direct interest and after such method that the frequent expression of the whole body can be moved back and forth, as one man debating with himself. In other words, full publicity, as trusting ideas to work themselves out, is the method of progress in unity. With the farmer as a Class thus active on his own initiative the partisan office-holder should find it difficult to get his ear. This discordant element put out, there is a long stride made toward union.

The sum of this is that the unity of the farmers, or of any other Class, lies in the movement amongst them of some single idea, or kindred ideas as one, making for their direct advantage, and calling up full expression from the Class as a body—calling up full publicity. Men as a body can be trusted to unite of their own motion on some line of common interest, when through free publicity they can forget their common view, or project. In short, the proposition for the unity of the farmer is to keep him moving as a body on a mastering idea, like the referendum and Government ownership of railroads.

The growth of the house-to-house telegraph gives substantial footing to the possibility of bringing the farmers together and building toward their community of movement. This telegraph, running up the country roads and connecting the farm and the village, has made beginning in southern Michigan, starting in Lenawee county. It has likewise risen over areas in Ohio and Indiana. The farmers and villagers contribute to the expense of building the wire, each having the privilege of

tapping it where it goes by the house. In Michigan this wire, known as the Neighborhood Telegraph, has attained considerable organization, with Tecumseh as a center, on the Lake Shore Road, in the county mentioned. A circuit of wires radiating from a railway station, or central railroad village, seems thus far to be the unit of organization, or division. The system of one division can switch and connect with the next. The trunk wires are the Western Union, passing through the village. The local system now connects with this trunk semi-officially. The Neighborhood organization has established ten-cent rates for use of its line in delivering messages to the farmer for the Western Union, and on the other hand the farmer can connect with the Western Union, or trunk, by going to his key and calling it up. Children pick up the Morse alphabet by ear about as readily as they learn to talk. Children ten years old understand the wire. The farmer and his family sitting at table overhear the movement of the county, the nation, the world; the operator at the station in the village puts important state, national and world news upon the wire, as he discovers it going through his sounder. The farmers and villagers make practical use in other ways of the local telegraph; they call the family doctor from the village, transact business across the county, etc.; and the villagers in turn reach the country for business purposes. The subscriber to the telegraph supplies his own instrument, the initial connection costing about ten dollars. The yearly expense to the subscriber is less than five dollars. The thing thus becomes possible to everybody and it is an economy and fascination that nothing can stay. [The fuller detail of the Neighborhood Telegraph is to be found in the book "The Child of Democracy," Chap. xiv., *The Region Backing Up*.]

It is the propulsion of idea involved in thus bringing the earth to the farmer that inclines to push him out into the open. In the movement springing from it he invents advance. It is the growth of the contact of the farmer with projecting ideas in the widest reach, and it points

to the preparation of the mind of the farmer for the projects of his leaders. Whatever movement the farmer now experiences has gone to sever him from prejudice and carry him over to fact.

In general, it must tend to become more difficult from day to day for the partisan to divide this body and prolong its bondage. In measure the farmers have now come to divine the meaning of Government ownership of the railroads and telegraphs. They discern in it an immediate freedom. They are growing in unity on this and other outleading things. Like any phase of the State, the organization of the farmer hinges in much on the rising movement and can be relied upon in the outcome of advancing order.

We have to conceive the farmer on his land in terms of the organized Farm Class. In any farming community there is a man more or less consulted by the farmers of the region. There is such a man who runs a sorghum and cider mill in Ohio, carrying it on in addition to his farm. The farmers come to this man and advise with him about the breed of sheep and the number they should try to raise ; they ask him about what acreage of sorghum, corn, and other things they should plant. He has introduced better sorghum among them. He advises them about their orchards, the kind of trees they need and the care of them. His advice has introduced systematic spraying of the orchards against insects. He is able to direct them in a supervising sense because his knowledge covers the different conditions of the soil and climate of the region in the most practical way and because he knows about the demand, or market, being intimate with the conditions of trade. This man is in effect a practical managing farmer of several hundred farms—of a township or county, more or less. If any one of these men fails in his crop or other product, this managing farmer can tell why. In many cases farmers needing direction do not come to him or others for advice. There is the occasional shiftless farmer who lets his place go at odds

and who probably could never reach any efficiency in his work except as a day laborer under the immediate direction of a capable man. In the present stage, the managing farmer we have raised cannot enforce his knowledge upon those who do not seek it or who disregard it and who fail in consequence; nor can he enforce the conditions by which one man may manage a farm and another be portioned to day labor under a farmer competent to direct him. But could this manager compel closer division of labor, closer unity of action, his farming community would be a working whole.

If we extend this system to cover the entire country, and collect a certain number of these lesser divisions into large divisions with a supervising head, and then bind these together under a Farmer General, we have the glimpse of the organism among the farmers. Each occupies his own farm, plants, tills, and harvests his crops according to accepted rules, determined first, by the head of the Farm Class and his cabinet, as directly affecting the whole body, and second, by the facts of the local conditions, under the direction of a division head. One farmer inclines to a small farm of five to ten acres, where he and his wife without assistance can do much of the work, getting help by days as they need it from men who dislike the responsibility of caring for a farm. There is another type of farmer who wants to manage several hundred acres with a dozen teams and a score of men. The different types all find their places in a farming community. Special aptitude, and inclination, are deferred to on the principle that if a man can do a thing according to his adaptability he does it better. This is not doing it different from what is now done upon the farms. It is doing it under freer conditions and with more efficiency.

A destination which we may draw sees the farmer born upon his ten acres and grown gray in its tilling; it is his as long as he uses it; when he is infirm, he still owns it and lives upon it, the superintendent of the division providing for its tillage. His boy, if the desire is, may have ten acres near, or he may work the homestead

with his father. With fair and interested service, in half the hours they now employ, dispossession and the sheriff cannot set them upon the highway. And we may figure the farmer taking the car of any afternoon to the table d'hôte and theater in town.

We see the ethic of the farmer in the enlargement of conditions through organization. And through the corresponding freed conditions of all who have relation to the farmer, we have the advancing ethic of the Whole.

There is the formal question of property in reference to the land—in reference to production. The determination of the right of holding is the technical farm labor. The farmer's right to the soil is his specific division of labor with the weaver, the miner, the manufacturer, the mail carrier, or with any other phase of the State. His function is supported by the several divisions of labor and he supports theirs. So that neither the farmer in his Class, nor the Class itself has a vested right in the soil except the use of it for himself and others. It is the instrument of a function carried on by all labor everywhere and it vests, has holding, only as related action in a whole of action. The farmer and the miner occupy the land while they use it. They possess it absolutely in that necessity which the Whole finds in having them upon it. Their ownership, as use for the Whole, is absolute because they are inseparable part in the Whole—the latter having unqualified title, unqualified possession. It is only when the man withdraws from the State, by viciously ceasing his function, that he is dispossessed. The State has no power to dispossess a man if, by his action, he remains a part of the State, remains in function. If a man is dispossessed, he must himself do it; he must turn his face away from his life as active part of the State.

CHAPTER V

EXCHANGE : ORGANIC MONEY

Exchange is the passing of equivalent functions, or values, between organs, or individuals, through the medium of the whole ; and conversely, a false or dishonest exchange is the passing of unequal functions. This is the formula of the life of the organism and it has its application in the equable support of all its members. The only possible exchange of equality in values between the lungs and the liver is that each gives its full action to the whole body, each through the animal organism, or commerce, exchanges its normal action in support of the other. This underlies the notion of equality of individuals, which has its reality in such an exchange of action through the whole that all are mutually supported—the giving of self for self. It is the exchange of equivalent life ; for, the organism to exist complete needs one life, or part, as much as the other ; the parts are equalized as individuals through the equal need for each by the whole. If the whole animal body needs the lungs exactly as much as it does the liver, then the liver is exactly equal to the lungs ; is worth exactly as much in terms of the whole—the only way in which we can estimate the individual, or part. The practical exchange between two organs, conditioning them as equal individuals, is thus that each makes the full contribution of its powers to the whole, and in turn draws out an equivalent to support these powers.

The practice of this law in the social must be in terms of the organs of the State, the Classes. But the action of the Class is, in its last reduction, the action of its individual molecules—the man. And the practical reduction of the action of the man is in terms of hours' work. His equable or honest exchange is the contribution required of him by

the State in support of the life of all other individuals. The practical computation of this contribution must be to apportion him an exact share of the whole amount of labor, an equal part of the whole number of hours' work to be performed. The problem in all its simplicity, as elsewhere raised, is that if there are 500 hours' work to be done in one day and there are 100 men in active service to do it, not on vacation or sick, then it requires five hours' work from one man.

A man in supporting his measure of exchange in the State has to support his part of the vacation and sickness of men, these being self-evident phases of the movement of the State as a whole. The disorder of a sick man unsupported or a man without a vacation is the disorder of all other men, who know that the same conditions may fall upon themselves, or who are subject to the reaction of disorder. A man supports another man in his vacation because another man supports him ; it is the exchange of vacations. And he sustains another man in his sickness because the other sustains him in his sickness. That is, this is the economic disposal of it, the economic exchange of support in sickness through the medium of the whole. A man may or may not be sick, but there is an average sickness in the practical State which has to be sustained and this is proportioned to him in his share, being his contribution to the need of the whole. One man exchanges with another the support of a possible sickness. Incidentally, we see that the exact and honest exchange thus cuts out the charity concept in life, such concept having lain in the unequal exchange.

We come to realize that the exchange of labor in the State has to be in terms of what this labor does, or makes. The labor of a weaver has to be told in terms of a yard of cloth or ribbon ; but the value, or measure, of the ribbon as exchange has to be in terms of the amount of labor which is put into it. And this at once raises the necessity of a ready mathematical unit for computing labor. This is found by putting the decimal hundred upon a day's work. So that the dollar would come to mean a hundred

equal parts of a day's labor. Or the decimal hundred can be put upon an hour's labor if that is preferred. The value of a yard of cloth thus comes to be measured by the unit of labor, be it hour or day. If we can get the amount of labor in the whole number of yards of cloth of a certain grade produced in a year, we can thus with this unit accurately measure the value of one yard in terms of its honest exchange in the State. The computation is not any different than it is now except that under organization it could be more accurately and more easily arrived at ; and with this difference in the movement of exchange, that having found the cost we would not add to it the falsity of the so-called margin of profit—representing the present inaccuracy of exchange. The cost of the cloth would be found by adding to it the number of days' work which has gone into it, and which we get by tracing it through its several stages of production, manufacture and distribution. The value of the material as bought from the farmer is known through his price on it, which is the whole number of days his body of workers has put into it as measured by the unit of labor, the dollar. That is, the raw material cost so much. Then we add to the price of the crude product the price which the manufacturer adds to it, computed by the number of days which he has put into it. In turn the tax for distribution is added, making the total price of the yard of cloth. Of course we have to consider that production, manufacture and distribution, compute in the price of the cloth the amount of money which they have paid to other Classes to help them produce it and deliver it. The manufacturer and distributor have paid so much to transportation and to all the factors of the State which they employed on cloth as a whole ; and a given grade represents a certain percentage of that amount. These prices on the cloth, covering its various stages, make its equable exchange at each of these stages. Everybody is paid all round and every function of the State supported relative to this function. The yard of cloth at cost represents equable exchange in the life of the State. What is true

of the cloth is true of all other articles of commerce or wants of man as standing for exchange of service.

This brings us to consider that proposition of false individualism which denies its creator, the State. This is the proposition fundamental in the feudal exchange, namely, that one man's labor is more valuable than another's, which, if true, goes to vitiate any computation based upon a unit of labor. For if it is practical to show that one man's labor is more valuable than another's, considered from the standpoint of the moving economics, then it is not possible to treat them as of the same value, being the doom of the State to the everlasting distortion of inequality. It is upon this proposition as landmark underlying a disordered and fretted exchange that the philosophy of the organism must make the issue for the freedom of men. The usual form in which the question raises itself is this: "How can an hour of human labor be a definite unit of measure, seeing that the labor of different human beings must of necessity vary in value? How can the work of an inventor, or surgeon, or painter in their rare talent be compared by the hour to the work of a street-sweeper or a coal-heaver?" The question presents the most acute form of the rabies of a dishonest exchange. It is this view that the rising waters of socialism afflict most sore. And it is in this virulent form that the proposition has to be met.

The question turns on the freedom of the individual—how he is to practically realize his life in the State. The proposition of the equable exchange is that men now realize their freest life through making all labor of the same value, even to treating the time element in it as an incident. That is, a surgeon, as instance, now makes his contribution to the State through trading a day's work of surgery at even hand with a day's work of coal-heaving. This is in principle in actual operation in any employment bureau in the country. We may realize it in a case like the following: Suppose that a coal-heaver applies for a job at a labor bureau in New York City, and that the first thing presenting is a call from Bellevue Hos-

pital for a surgeon. Hereupon the manager of the bureau informs the coal-heaver that he can give him work at Bellevue, telling him that they are in need of a man at once to amputate a leg at the hip joint. While the ghost of blood is rising to the coal-heaver, a second man steps into the labor bureau to ask for a job. He is a practicing surgeon and the long knife and the spouting artery belong to his business. The manager of the bureau tells the surgeon that he has just had a call from an ocean steamship in need of coal-heavers, and that he will send him at once to the docks. At the vision of the furnace in the hold and the degradation of failure, the surgeon asks the manager whether there is not some work less difficult. The manager tells him that there is a leg amputation, but that he gave it to the coal-heaver, who came in first. The surgeon asks why they can't trade jobs, and is told that he must himself settle that with the coal-heaver. In this strait he goes to the coal-heaver, finding him wrung with his image of disaster, and proposes that they trade work. It is not supposable that the surgeon will obstruct the trade by claiming that his work is more valuable than that of the coal-heaver, should the latter want to trade even. The concrete here, not the abstraction, of the notion of value is that the opportunity to the surgeon is of the same use to him as the other job is to the coal-heaver. The practical is, that if the surgeon takes the coal-stoker's job he cannot realize on it, it has no value to him; he can only realize on that which affords him his action, or art—his surgery. And the same analysis fits the coal-stoker. The even values which pass in the transaction are the even opportunity of each man. So that, if we are to state in the concrete the wage of the surgeon we say that he receives from the coal-stoker in this transaction an exchange which is all of life; and if we state the concrete of the exchange which the stoker receives in the transaction we say that he gets the same pay as the surgeon. The saying could be that the stoker and the surgeon had dealing in which they exchanged the same measure of freedom.

In another form, the whole thing reduces to the question of whether a violinist would prefer to sweep the streets if he got nominally more pay for it, gold eagles considered. The question really is, in the last analysis of values, the fuller being, or realization, of his life considered: Would he not get less pay for it? Would he not be glad to exchange his day in an even trade with the street-sweeper provided he would be enabled thereby to enhance his art? This is the practical reduction of the question if the street-sweeper is to have food and clothes and vacation along with the violinist—if he is to be conditioned in his being to support the musician.

Last, the practical politics is the way out of the deadlock when the inertia of impatient labor precribes an even exchange in the commodities of life. The abstract proposition that the work of a violinist is more valuable than that of some other function will not obtain against an insistent demand for food, a rising consciousness, and an organized ballot. It is in the end a question of satisfying the members of the next Constitutional Convention, sitting as representative of labor for solution of the general proposition of equality of individual conditions.

As we go abroad into the question we refer all its phases to the principle of division of labor, under which we are working. If we raise the question of the enhancement of the painter's work over that of the ditch-digger, its solution is to refer it to this principle. The "artist" who is painting a picture is not painting it alone; other occupations are painting with him; and the reality which we seek to render as practice is that the picture is painted by the cook, plus the surgeon, plus the ditch-digger, etc. The solution is that if four or more men work four or more hours on a picture, then one man works one hour, one hour of picture—equaling the same for each man. It is a sentiment not demonstrable in practice that the work of any one of these men is more valuable than another. It will be said that the particular part of the division of labor between the artist and the ditcher in which the artist works on the picture itself, is more valuable than

that which the ditcher does on the picture. It is held that it is more valuable than the ditch-digging because it is more difficult to do and is more rare. But it is not possible in the final computation as of the practice of the State to mark off the value of the artist's work as distinct or separate from the ditcher. The length to which it is possible to carry the distinction between the two kinds of work, considered as phases of labor mutually dependent in the organization of the State, is that they are two parts of the same thing; but at this point we are compelled in practice to equalize them by recognizing that they are both essential parts of the same thing, for of two such parts of the same thing it is not possible to say that one is more essential than the other. We can only carry the distinction to the point of operative union; and the operative union of two things is an equation in front of which the mind falls down in the attempt at separation into inequality. The hand holding the brush and the art instinct that is back of the brush are not operative, not a practice, except the ditcher is doing his particular work of ditching. The stroke of the artist's brush is in reality the compound and inseparable work of the artist and ditcher together. From whatever point of view we look we have either to see the ditcher and the artist working together and inseparable in operation on the ditch, or else we have to see them as working together and inseparable in operation on the picture. We separate the artist and the ditcher, but not beyond their logical object, the picture; we separate the artist and the ditcher, but we do not separate them so far as to take them out of life—their division of labor upon the picture, the equality of their operative union.

Hence the psychologic reduction, that the limits of distinction or thought can only be carried to the point of seeing their dependent relations; it cannot be carried to the point of breaking their equality—to the point of their annihilation. This would be to displace reality with sentimentality. Sentimentality is the separation of things in life without seeing their operative union. We have to

separate things as the diversity constituting material of thought, but we can only carry the separation so far as to get logical unity in the practical problems of life. The sentimentalist, the distinction-maker merely, fails of object in his thought, in the sense of operative union, or practice in life. Things do not get their leverage, their practical effect, until we bring them together as inseparable in a joint doing. Think of the artist and the ditcher as operative both at the same moment on the same thing, at once the object and unity of their work, and they become inseparable parts of one whole of action, the picture—their inequality, if any, not capable of practical comparison. The man who says that one man's work is more valuable than another's is bound to furnish a calculus for the practical computation of this difference, or else rest under the charge of abortive and impotent thought—a sentimentalist merely.

In practice the computation has to be in absolute figures. How does a person compute the relative value of the artist's work and the ditcher's work? How does any one demonstrate that one man's work is more valuable than another's? The question is the concept of the crying inequality in life—the postulate of slavery. It underlies the present disorder. Evidently, the reduction must line with the necessity of practice. The inquiry consequently is, can we organize the State finally on any other concept than actual division of labor, absolute leveling of values in exchange of labor—the trading of day for day?

There is an unequal view that the painter is born to more culture and greatness and a love-lingering at his handiwork than is the case with the street-sweeper, for instance, or the mechanical engineer—supposed grosser fibres in the body of the State. It may be seen that these are constrictions growing out of the partial concepts of life which the organic philosophy seeks to correct. The apprehension that one man's work is more distinguished or more lovable than another's is like every apart enchancement—exaggerated. All men who have the instinct of their work, love it as their life. The man who does

not believe this may disprove it in his own case. Or, in the conceit that the specific work of the painter is more to be regarded or loved in an estimate by men of "fine instincts," the charge may be laid that such violates the inseparable qualities or conditions of the picture's being, violates the inseparable qualities of reality—through seeing only the brush side, and not the broom side that adds to the fuller meaning. Loving only the brush, we less love the picture in its greatness; our regard has the fragmentary, or sentimental quality. And, we may apprehend that essential refinement or culture, as lodging in our action or calling, is to perform our work truthfully, or as related to ordered life. In fine, essential culture is the practice of order, and breadth of contact adds all things. In this view one is as much within lines of culture in street-cleaning as in painting. Their values for self-realization are the same.

In the more basic handling it is not a question of comparing individual labor, but a question of so organizing the State that every man can trade his labor for all other labor; so that a man may trade an hour of labor for all of an hour of life. We do not regard the computation in its elements as rightly between two people but rather between one man and the rest of the State. The artist is helped in his picture not alone by one division of labor but by all labor. He contributes his work and receives all in return. Can the artist therefore claim that his work is more valuable than the work of all his fellows? He who compares the value or love-worth or refinement of his work must put it against all that he receives—against a world of value, love-worth and refinement—not against a fragment, as that of the ditcher or stoker.

In the light of the practical reduction of the problem there is a further view. When the surgeon, for example, is dissatisfied with the reduction, thinking that he does more work than the ditcher and wishing a job like his, he will be allowed to find a place accordingly; and when the ditcher is likewise dissatisfied he may take up

with a new job; provided that in each case there is the technical skill and operative power. .

There is a kind of intrenchment of the unequal exchange which is a phase of the foregoing and essentially treated in it but which calls for a special word. It is the formula for taking advantage of people's needs to distort exchange beyond the cost of the article. It has disguise in the phase, "the law of supply and demand." It is that intrigue of exchange which holds an article against an urgency or necessity in demand or which seizes upon urgency or necessity in order to manipulate the price; it turns on how much a man will give for an article if he can not get it for less. Expounders of this law of inequality, properly so-called, say that the question is not how much a man will give, but how much he can get it for; how much circumstances in the manipulation of exchange can force out of him. Other exposition of this "law," as vindication of larceny, is the so-called competition in demand by which people, struggling for life, are given opportunity to bid up the price of a thing, as they conceive its necessity to them. This, first and last, is said to be the justification of any amount of advance over cost, namely, that men won't give more for an article than they conceive its value to them; so that in reality, as thought, it is the buyer who fixes the price, through his willingness to give it. By this, the test of a man's willingness to give any margin whatever above cost turns on the fact that he does give it. This is to mistake speculation for exchange. Such view would justify highway robbery, since a man is willing to give up his purse if thereby he can save his life. It is this form of intrenchment of the false exchange that justifies the railroad manager in largely shutting off commerce in the State and holding up by the throat whole provinces of people. But it is said that men in the long run will not so far go counter to their own interests as to accept excessive margins, that their interests stipulate moderation, that the thing is self-operative. The answer to this is the French Revolution and the American Civil

War. And we add to these all the crises in the social which mark the revolt of men who have been reduced to desperation by the margin-slavery. The current deficit in our public exchequer represents some effect of the margin of profit operative through office-holding. The present starvation in fertile valleys and around the mines and the looms represents more of its death-blight. When we continue the account we find that every disorder of the exchange has its root in the scheme of margin as intrenchment of the feudal lord.

The regulation of price and the regulation of consumption proceeds from the proposition of exchange at cost. If the farmer in growing potatoes meets with a half failure of the crop it is the proportionate large cost attending the fractional crop that increases its price. A fractional crop costs nearly as much as a full crop. The same amount of land had to be ploughed, the same amount of fertilizer used, and the harvesting of the crop was approximately as much as a full crop. Accordingly we find the half-crop practically doubling its price per bushel in the market under the law of the equable exchange at cost. But it does not treble or quadruple its price; its fluctuation is exactly stable under the law and is what the organic fact of life makes it. And we see that this movement goes to regulate consumption lawfully. For unless a man denies himself somewhat on potatoes, he will, under an equal wage, have to deny himself some other thing. Under disorganized trade his table may be plethoric in potatoes with somebody else having none at all; nor does he have to deny himself any other thing, but may fatten upon all scarcity to the disadvantage of men.

Without traversing the question further, we must see that all possible phases of it are dealt with in the one central proposition, and we may pass to the consideration of the world's development toward the organic money.

The development in the world's exchange has been towards the automatic public registration of the transaction as making for adjustment on the lines of equality—the advance

being in ratio of organization in democracy. The partial public registration of a transaction is to reduce it through a common unit to quasi comparison with other transactions in the State. The more complete public registration of a transaction is to reduce it through a common unit to full comparison with all other transactions. This is the development, because the more a trade is related to life the more it is publicly described and in so far recorded. And the more the comparison with life is facilitated, or advanced, through whatever means or device, the more the record is advanced. The least public form of exchange is the direct trading of commodity without the use of any instrument of measurement or comparison. Such is the barter, for instance, of a sheepskin for a pair of shoes. The act, limited to the passing of the two commodities, is short of any instrument of public record, or universal comparison. The advance on this method, the advance toward full exchange, the equation of universal comparison, was when the first division of labor as instrument for equating commodities through common measure came in. This was when the primitive man sold a skin or a pair of sandals for the shell-money or other token. The trade had in so far taken on a public record as to be described in terms which had the reach of a common or public significance. The transaction had in so far approached automatic public record through a common unit as to give it comparison with other transactions of exchange.

The advance along this principle to gold and silver as money, or the basis of money, has been toward more reality in the public registration. The attempt to put an intrinsic value into money is in the direction of the fuller registration, or comparison, as opposed to the uncertain or irregular values, and so uncertain comparison, of the token money. It is the attempt at the universal comparison. And to pass the transaction through a gold or silver dollar is advance device for publicly registering it in so far as a more actual unit of comparison affords publicity. Through the advance in organization and the increasing

development of the social, this in so far universal instrument of registration became a requirement.

We may see that the advance in the public registration of trade becomes a necessity as the organization advances. We may see that it underlies the adjudication of the individual in the State as division of labor comes in. Through development of life one man becomes a manager of industry in relation to a body of workers. A dispute arises between the manager and one of the workers as to the rate of wage understood. The employer may say to the court, as machinery of adjudication in the State, that he had in mind when he hired the man of paying him out of the Company's store at the rate of a bushel of wheat a day for his work, though no specific price was agreed upon. On the other hand the employee might say that he had in mind a better wage than current among workers of his kind at the time he was engaged. It being true that the service was performed and accepted, there is only left for the court to adjust the matter on a basis approaching equable exchange and on what is in effect the public registration of the transaction, which is in terms of the common unit—the dollar. The judge accordingly tells both parties that he will render the decision in terms of this unit of registration in the State, the lawful money, and that they can then pass it into wheat or anything else they wish to, but that the transaction is best registered in terms of the accepted medium of public comparison—so that all men may know the validity of the adjudication.

A far-reaching phase of the development toward the equable exchange in line of the public record is that adjustment in the State which seeks formally and in set statute to prohibit confiscation by margin of "profit." The adjustment has to do with highway robbery, burglary, forgery, arson, sequestration of funds, etc., including the whole list under theft and fraud. The usual margin demanded in these cases amounts to total confiscation. The method of proceeding upon the adjustment in equable exchange in these cases, and a conse-

quent reduction of the margin, is for the court officer, the sheriff, to seize upon the total margin in sight and, by formal order of the court, return it to the victim or to his heirs. The State goes farther in the case and locks up the margin-taker as a disturber for having carried through to its conclusion the doctrine of the feudal exchange. If it is said that the robber put himself outside of any claim to exchange or trade when he used force or threats prejudicial to life or took other advantage of circumstances to compel the margin, then it may be said that the man who exacted advance on meat or railroad service did it by threats against life in some form, expressed or implied, and took such other advantage of circumstances as pleased him or as he had the termerity, putting himself outside of exchange, in so far. If in the first case nothing was given in return for the margin, was there anything given in the second case?

We have similar case of adjustment in the State toward the equable exchange, which is a restitution of the confiscation by margin, although not commonly a full restitution, being a temporizing of the State with a form of peculation less sanguine than burglary—of a different color. This is where one party hails the other to court through refusal to allow a third or two-thirds seizure of the goods under the plea of a margin of profit. Such a fracture of exchange has occurred with some attorney attempting to collect a \$10,000 fee or a dealer attempting to recoup himself in two prices for a knee-sprung horse which he had upon his hands. The court commonly reduces the lawyer's fee in an amount which may be said to obstruct free confiscation; and on the other hand it commonly declares the horse-trade off, if it does not go farther, as with the burglar, and lock up the dealer for his logical following of the rules of a current dealing. And, finally, the court orders the public record in all cases upon the facts of the adjustment.

Again, under the necessity of adjustment in the State, the judge recognizes as valid and raises into public eye the record of a set of books as evidence of the facts in any

given dispute. The decision in a multitude of cases in the American and English Courts has turned upon an entry in a day-book or ledger. This is the raising of the quasi-registration into the fuller public one. The absolute status, or reduction, of the private account is its relation to the demand of the public upon it. The commonwealth in all cases of dispute upon the transaction asks for the record. Thus it would appear that all record is in its last reality—in its relation to the State—a public record. Or we may say that the State in principle, as likely to demand facts regarding any act, carries the transaction through to the fuller registration.

And through that advance in organization which requires the payment of the public salaries, as the police, the court, the school-teacher, the legislator, the executive head like governor or president, we have a growth in the necessity of the public record. The method here advances to the full itemized account spread upon the public books. The transaction, told in the wage paid, is a matter of insistent and accurate public knowledge. The machinery of it is the receipt signed by the payee in money terms and the additional writing in the day-book and ledger. The record of the official salary as advance in public registration grows out of the advance of the Class towards absolute division of labor—the more strictly public service, or service at cost—and the consequent advance in equable exchange. The advance in the registration of the transaction in the case of the school-teacher and judge, for instance, is seen to be through the development of these Classes toward the public service, as coming more under the demand for public accounting. And through the advance of all Classes in organization and their approach to the corresponding conditions of the exaction of public record of service, as absolute comparison in the State, we see rising the universal registration of every transaction in trade.

Following out the view thus obtained, we come to the fuller public registration found in the post-office as advanced Class organization. Here the transaction has

taken on a phase of the automatic public registration seen in the postage stamp. The advance is toward simplicity and efficient public record of trade. Matters have progressed so far through the use of the stamp that anyone having knowledge of a transaction taking place, a letter mailed, knows that the service was virtually paid for at cost—as the present status figures cost—affording a phase of the equable exchange and its more automatic register. And in the end, the transaction is but little hid. Through the balance-sheet of the post-office as fuller public accounting we know that a letter which we saw mailed at a given hour was balanced at two cents as bearing its proportionate part of the cost of the whole service, as bearing its proportion of a total transaction of the Class as equable trade in the State. We thus see the postage stamp as a phase of the reduction to simpler form of the money actual. Whatever advance may still be needed in the fuller and more absolute record on these lines will appear in the development of the full registration, the organic money, as belonging to this chapter. But at this stage we are able to realize the postage stamp as advance in the actual reduction in the office of money as indicated.

Thus looking upon the movement and seeing the threads of registration, or comparison, in trade as so diverse, lending in so far such apparent decentralization, we come to inquire the mechanism for gathering them up into a single and unified system. We come to ask for the organization of the registration, or full instrument of exchange, as distinct division of labor. This is the Banking Function, or Exchange Class.

The Banking Function is the specific public registration, or machine of exchange, in terms of the Bill of Exchange. The total function of a bank reduces to the bill of exchange. If we analyze the several processes of banking we find that they are all in reality this one instrument. The bill of exchange has its technicality in the record of the exchange of commodity through the universal unit of measurement, the dollar. We may see this in any

example of the present exchange—in any example of buying and selling.

A common practice of buyers of cattle in Texas for shipment to Chicago is to draw on the consignee, as Armour and Company, for each carload which they ship. They take their receipt, or bill of lading, from the railroad company and go with it to the local bank and ask for a bill of exchange, on the consignee at Chicago, covering the value of shipment. If the party asking for the bill has established the required reputation for straight dealing, he can turn around and deposit the accommodation as cash. He may draw it all out of the bank at once or he may leave a part or all of it on deposit, to check against for the payment of farmers and herders with whom he deals. The banker charges the shipper what he calls expense or cost for collecting the draft, thus adding his tax to the transaction.

The full reality of this bill of exchange is the record of the trading of two commodities. The full record is all the paper or facts. These all logically enter into the bill of exchange. The reality of the first part of the registration is as the record of one of the items, one of the commodities, the cattle. The second part of the registration is the other item, the other commodity in the transaction, namely, the gold or silver which is the current notion of the basis of money, and which is traded for the cattle. Although only the item gold is usually written upon the face of the bill of exchange, it must be seen that the other item, the carload of cattle, is essentially a part of the record. The banker insisted on having the record which was the bill of lading before he would write the item of money into the face of the bill of exchange. The fact that the records of the two items had nominal separation in the movement through the Exchange Office (bank) is to be set down to a peculiar division of the record and not to an absence of either one or the other. The bill of exchange in the one writing recording the item of money is deficient in the registration of the full transaction as far as the nominal writing goes, but only as nominal writ-

ing, for when it is not written in it is understood by all parties to the transaction that the left-out item is really recorded in the one item of money. The shipper, the local banker, and the payor at Chicago, all understand that there is written into the item money in the draft the meaning of the full transaction. The item money in the bill of exchange is understood by all parties to be for a carload of cattle. In the large, no one regards the draft until convinced by the record that full commodity on the other side is passing. And to all parties concerned evidence of the two items is demanded relative to the one paper. Essentially, the record is not divided in the movement through the Exchange Office, the bill of lading being attached, or held to be attached, to the bill of exchange—both commodities, as the carload of cattle and the gold, being mentioned in the one instrument of writing when the draft and bill of lading are pinned together. Further, in the books of the bank, as supplementing the bill of exchange, both items are specifically stated. In general, therefore, it should be said that the bill of exchange has incorporated in it, remotely or nearly, the writing of the commodities. The signing and indorsement of the exchange bill make the record of the immediate parties to the transaction. The bank statements, the balance sheets, ultimately appearing in the advertising columns of the newspapers, are a further phase of the registration of exchange. In all its phases it is of course public in its final reality, for it comes under the universal unit of measure, and we have seen that in the last event the State may exact a public record. Having thus reached an understanding of the meaning of the true bill of exchange as a public writing, we proceed to bring into the same category, as identical with it, forms of exchange record having seeming distinction.

One of these is where a man goes to a bank to trade the commodity gold or silver for the like commodity in some other city or place. The common custom is to purchase a bill of exchange on New York, as being worth its face in gold or silver in any other city or region.

Here the two items of the trade, the commodity paid in over the counter in one city and the commodity drawn out over the counter in another city, are presupposed by all bankers and everybody everywhere to each have their entry in the one writing of the universal unit of measurement put upon the face of the exchange bill. Though only the commodity drawn out is necessarily and finally mentioned, it is understood to be in lieu of equivalent commodity or funds paid into the drawing office. And, like the above, the record of the exchange is in addition entered upon the journal and ledger of the bank, the commodity paid in being in this specifically stated, not inferred, like the other part of the registration, the moving paper, or nominal bill. It must be seen that this particular bill differs from the first only in the commodity and other minor details—not in principle. This is true of all the varieties of the exchange paper. And we may add to the two already given, as essentially identical, the so-called draft or check. Indeed, the word draft is often used as interchangeable with the bill of exchange. And in its more local restriction, as the so-called check, we may see that it essentially corresponds to the principle of the bill of exchange. A check is drawn upon a bank in payment for some commodity, as one item; the other item, or commodity, is the gold or silver essentially called for in the draft. This makes the public registration upon the moving paper, and in passing through the bank it traces an additional record upon its books. In these forms of the bill, we cover the most active registering instruments of the modern commerce.

Another and final phase of registration of trade, finding much of its movement in relation to the specific office of exchange, the banks, is the so-called promissory note. This in its reduction may be seen as a modification in the detail of the bill of exchange, not differing in its essential action. They are alike in that they both acknowledge, or register, the exchange of commodities. What the bill of exchange often leaves to be inferred as a matter of course, the note specifies, namely, that it is drawn under

conditions of an initial commodity passed, of value received. And exactly like the bill of exchange, it promises, or registers, an equivalent commodity in return. They both register the passing of commodities. As a bill of exchange may be drawn payable months after date so may its brother instrument, the note. In fact, the two instruments are so much alike, differing not one whit in principle, that it would be very possible to draw a bill of exchange altogether after the model of a note. The exchange bill could well read: "For value received, I promise to pay," etc. And with this, we reduce all possible phases of the essential registration of exchange to the one instrument, the bill of exchange.

How the banking function rises into specific office in the registration of trade in democracy is seen in the volume of movement over its counters. A single bank in any of our larger centers ordinarily does a business of of half a million dollars a day, some of the large banks reaching a business of two million dollars daily. And when we consider that there are from fifty to a hundred banks of all kinds in the large cities and one or more banks in all towns of one thousand or two thousand inhabitants we form an idea of the volume of the bank movement. And fully ninety-five per cent. of this volume has its public record in the instrument of itemized registration which we have seen as the bill of exchange.

The Banks organize on the function of accurate registration as a whole, being organization on the movement of the accurate bill of exchange. A brief study of banking methods reveals this. As lending a succinct condensation of the action of banking we draw here on the chapter "Functions of a Bank" in Mr. Horace White's book, "Money and Banking."* One wishes to read the full account in this book, which is a compressed history of exchange in easy syllables. Its recital of the rise of the bill of exchange is a romance of action, though lacking reduction to final principle. Mr. White is a story teller. His tales of the early banker and his conquest of territory are

* (Ginn & Co., New York, 50c.)

hardly to be missed. Says Mr. White in the chapter referred to :

“A bank is a manufactory of credit and a machine of exchange. Mr. H. D. Macleod’s analysis of the mechanism of banking is substantially this : A man has \$5,000 of his own money. He starts a bank. His neighbors deposit \$45,000 with him. This money becomes the absolute property of the banker. The depositors have simply a right to withdraw an equal amount whenever they like, which right can be enforced by law. The banker owns the money and the depositor has a claim, or right of action, against him for an equal sum. But the depositors will not draw the money out immediately ; if they had intended to do so they would not have deposited it at all. The banker finds by experience that some of his customers will deposit as much money as others draw out, so that \$50,000 is on hand all the time. He concludes that if his own \$5,000 in connection with his good reputation, is considered by the public a guarantee for \$45,000, then the whole \$50,000 will serve as a guarantee for at least \$200,000. When he begins, his balance-sheet reads this way:—

LIABILITIES.	ASSETS.
Deposits \$45,000	Cash \$50,000

“He now begins to discount the commercial paper of his customers running say 90 days at 6 per cent. When he discounts a bill of exchange for \$1000 he deducts the interest for 90 days (\$15) and credits the customer the remainder (\$985) on his books. This \$985 is called a deposit, because the customer has the right to draw it out by his check exactly as he could draw out an equal sum of gold deposited by him in the same bank. In the eye of the banker, and of the customer, and of the law, it is a deposit. In ordinary times it is like any other deposit. That is, the proportion remaining uncalled for at any time will be about the same as the proportion of actual money deposited. Yet it is nothing

but a bank credit. Hence the word deposit, when thus used, is clearly a misnomer since, by derivation and common understanding, a deposit means a thing laid away, or given in charge of somebody. It must be borne in mind, therefore, that bank deposits consist of two different things, namely, (1) money, (2) bank credits, and that the latter may be four or five times as large as the former.

"The process continues until the banker has \$200,000 of discounted bills in his portfolio. Then his accounts stand thus:

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Deposits	\$242,000	Cash	\$50,000
Profits	3,000	Loans and discounts	200,000
	\$245,000		\$250,000

"This is Mr. Macleod's exposition and it is the correct one. It follows that the banker has manufactured something which serves as a medium of exchange to the extent of nearly \$200,000. This something is credit. Goods can be bought and sold with it as readily as with money, since the checks drawn against these deposits are universally accepted. The whole \$200,000 of bills are not discounted in a lump, but gradually, so that some are always maturing and bringing money in to meet the checks of customers, in an endless chain of deposits and discounts. It is found in practice that \$200,000 of loans and discounts may be easily carried on \$50,000 of cash. Thus, the loans of all the national banks in the United States in October, 1894, were \$2,000,000,000 and their cash (including silver certificates and silver dollars) was a trifle less than \$400,000,000 or only one-fifth of the amount of the loans. The other four-fifths was credit, and perfectly sound credit too, for it had passed through one of the severest panics in history."

The "credit" which Mr. White, Mr. Macleod and others insist upon as the basic action of banking and the soul of the machine of exchange, has its reality in

the accurate registration, the accurate bill of exchange. The \$5,000, essentially gold or silver, which the banker starts with is simply that much commodity given public registration as partial exchange, as projected transaction short of full exchange. Putting it in bank is the public registration of one side of exchange, or transaction. The other side of exchange will rise and the registry of full trade be completed when some customer checks out on it in payment for some other commodity. The \$45,000 additional "cash" deposited by customers is that much increase in the public registry of one side of an exchange or number of exchanges, the numerical depending on whether it is all checked out on one transaction or whether it is checked out in parts to cover many smaller transactions. The discounts, bills of exchange cashed, of whatever form, as based upon collateral, represent that much commodity in some kind of trade. They are, therefore, that much registration of exchange.

Now, the great care of bankers and of tradesmen is to know the actuality of all paper and to place safeguards about it. Every device of the honest banker and every rule in the conduct of his business is to make absolute the security of the exchange bill. Here again we see that the *credit* underlying banking is the surety that the banker is accurately registering function, or exchange of commodity, in democracy. The so-called twins of discount and deposit are one and the same thing as being so much detail of transaction which the bill of exchange in some form registers. This is all there is of the underlying reality of banking. If a word further is to be said about the reality of the deposit it is that it is so much guarantee as to the accuracy of the registration, being that much commodity, that much actual of the transaction in sight. If a word is to be said about the issuing of notes by banks we are to remind ourselves that they are but a form of the bill of exchange, being but the registration of so much commodity, so much gold or silver in vault or guaranteed. And as to the bank's relation to Govern-

ment legal tender money, we see that such legal tender stands for so much commodity, as based upon gold and silver; or, looked at as a note of hand of the Government, its reality is the registration of exchange of commodity, a bill of exchange passing through the bank.

In the organization of exchange, the gravity which drives the banks into closer relation is the need of measures which facilitate truthful registration, that is, which feasibly secure the bill of exchange as making it the record of the actual transaction in commodity. It is to secure the bill of exchange, in whatever form, against falsity. The mutually observed rules in the ordinary conduct of banking make the working relations of the banks as facilitating accurate movement. The so-called acceptance common to all banks is a measure of guarantee in the paper. Where a man accepts a bill drawn upon him, writing the word "accepted" on the back and signing his name under it, we have the registration and guarantee of a second party to the transaction, as standing for one of the commodities. The draft, check, note and other form of bill of exchange must, under the rule of the banker, be endorsed by the man depositing it, lending so much safety in the transaction. Banks in issuing bills of exchange, letters of credit, etc., send out duplicate bills to the banks drawn upon. There is the "protest" at law on unpaid paper, a rule protecting exchange against future slack registration. All these working relations, the common rules of the banks, are simply so much organization of exchange as a whole forced upon the bankers by the necessary accuracy and security in the movement of their business. The further relation of the banks which tends to drive them together into a wider and essentially single organization, is the necessity of accurate registration seen in the balancing of accounts against each other. This compels the centralizing of the machinery of exchange, by towns and provinces and by the country as a whole, bringing us to the consideration of bank clearances as compelling full and centralized organization in Exchange.

The centralization and fuller organization of Exchange has its present development in the National Banking system with its clearance through the divisional centers and through the New York Clearing House as center of the whole.

Mr. White in his exposition of the National Banking system* finds that it constitutes the front of exchange in its growing organization. He says :

“To most people the National Banking system means little else than security for bank notes, deposited in the Treasury at Washington. This, as we have seen, was an old conception, tried in many states with varying results, and brought very near to perfection in New York after some serious mistakes and disappointments. This is not the most important feature of the system. The note-issuing department is moribund. The most important feature is uniformity, or the bringing of the banking business of more than forty different states, and different bodies of law and practice and judicial decision, under one authority and within the grasp of one set of administrative officers. A bank is a credit establishment in which circulating notes are not usually the chief concern. Taking the country as a whole the deposits and the clearing house transactions are enormously greater than the note issues are or ever can be. The value of the system is to be estimated on its large side rather than on its small one.

“It is not to be supposed that all the banking disorders of the first-half century of the republic would be possible now. Civilization, progress, experience, rapid intercommunication count for much in banking as in other things. Nor can we overlook the fact that the state systems were steadily improving before the war. Those of Massachusetts and of Louisiana left little to be desired, while in the matter of elasticity and in the method of redemption they were superior to the present National system. Nor is it assumed that there are no elements of disorder in the National system. Every bank failure is a disorder and we have certainly not seen the last of these. Under ante-bellum conditions heterogeneousness was itself a promoter

* (“Money and Banking,” p. 406.)

of abuses ; and rascals found their opportunity in it, as a fox finds refuge in a diversified country.

"It is true that state banks of deposit and discount exist everywhere side by side with National banks. But as the two Banks of the United States, by their example and rivalry, served as regulators of the state bank currency, so do the national banks set the pace for the state banks now. The latter must be as good as the former or they lose place. Most of the state banks are small, having less capital than \$50,000 which is the smallest sum that is permitted under the national law. Thus they respond to a real want in the smaller towns."

The supervising head of the National Banking system lodges in a bureau of the U. S. Treasury. This bureau has charge of the conduct of the system as provided by the National Banking laws of Congress. The chief of this bureau as controlling the National Banking system is the Comptroller of the Currency. No bank can be started without the approval of this chief officer. To obtain a charter a bank has to come up to the requirements of the National Banking system and its operation must continue uniform with the system. Banks falling away from the requirements of the organization are at once put into liquidation by the Comptroller of the Currency. So that we see all the national banks organized and working under common provisions and subject to a single head.

The various features of the organization all make for accuracy of the public registration. The rules of the system require a considerable paid in capital ; \$50,000 for banks located in smaller towns is the least ; in cities of fifty thousand inhabitants the capital cannot be less than \$200,000. The rules of the organization make shareholders liable for the debts of the bank to the face of their shares. They must deposit U. S. bonds for the security of their notes. Banks according to their location must keep a reserve of "lawful money," in from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. of their deposits. Each bank is obliged to deposit in the Treasury of the United

States lawful money in amount covering five per cent. of its circulation, as surplus for the redemption of the same, in addition to its previous deposit of bonds; and one-tenth of the net profits must be put to the surplus fund until it becomes twenty per cent. of the capital. A bank cannot lend more than one-tenth of its capital to one person or firm, cannot lend money on security of its own shares, etc. A bank is restricted from running in debt beyond its own unimpaired capital. Each bank is required to make to the Comptroller as many as five reports each year; and this officer may at any time call for reports and may appoint examiners to investigate the affairs of a bank. When any bank defaults in the payment of its circulating notes the Comptroller orders them redeemed by the Treasury of the United States. Receivers are appointed by the Comptroller and the affairs of a liquidating bank are wound up under his supervision. In all this we again see the direct public function providing for the accuracy of the registration of exchange so far as the organism at present carries it.

In the last paragraph in his chapter on the National Banking system, Mr. White regards the present development of the system as assured growth. He says: "Every principle of banking in the national law was in existence in state systems, or in Canada, before the law was enacted, except the government's responsibility for the notes and the requirement that every bank shall receive the notes of every other bank at par in payment of debts due to itself. The merit of the National system consisted in the very fact that the methods adopted had been tested, and had proved good (or were supposed to be so), as the result of actual experience." Apprehending the system as the stable and outmoving growth, we return to follow the further lead upon the central lines.

In the necessity for exchange clearances we see the conditions driving the banks into centralized movement, or union as a whole. The essential business of banking requires the balancing of exchange drawn against each other. If one bank holds a check drawn upon another

bank these two banks have in some way to get together and adjust their accounts. This getting together, this office of adjusting accounts, is the centralization of two banks or a thousand banks. Exchange thus centers under conditions of adjustment, or clearance, of the bill of exchange. Under this law we have the local center, the divisional center, and the center as a whole.

The local center, or extreme sub-division, has its illustration in the adjustment at a bank registering the exchange for a small town or village. People of the town and surrounding country make deposits and draw checks to each other on this bank. The checks drawn against different persons, coming to the bank counter, are there adjusted to the different accounts. We will say that Mr. A. has drawn a check on the bank in favor of Mr. B. for \$40. Later in the day or some other day it occurs that Mr. B. draws a check in favor of Mr. A. for \$30. Both of these checks coming to the bank in due course a clearance, or balance, results on the books of the bank in favor of Mr. B. for \$10. Were the business at the bank very large, one of its clerks would be handling a series of checks under the letter A, another clerk under the letter B, etc. In this case it would follow that the clearance took place under entries by different clerks. But the fact of the adjustment, the clearance of divers accounts, is the machinery of centralization at the one bank, or Exchange Office. If one clerk is handling the divers accounts, or checks, their clearance centralizes in him; if two or more clerks are handling them, the clearance or adjustment centralizes through these clerks getting together and comparing accounts.

The business of the local center of registration, the local bank, also illustrates the wider centralization of the paper of the locality—the movement through the divisional center. The local bank in making count of its bills of exchange finds one or more against a bank in an adjoining village as the center of an adjacent locality; and it also finds one or more checks against some bank in the chief city of that region. The banks now in part make

their adjustment with the near-by or neighboring banks by mailing to them such checks as they have against them and requesting their payment. The bank so called upon usually sends in payment a check on some bank with whom it has a deposit in the metropolis of that region. A bank in interior Georgia probably pays its account at a neighboring bank by sending it a check on a bank in Atlanta. In the same way a large portion of all of the different banks in the locality centers, or towns, of a given region may send checks to each other drawn upon their several correspondents at the metropolis of the region. The several banks in the metropolis get together, under an association they call their clearing house, for the purpose of balancing these checks and also checks which have been locally drawn upon each other. All the different banks thus associated are practically so many departments or desks in one large bank—the clearing house. Though this is called the city clearing house, it is virtually the clearing house for the entire region commercially tributary to it. As, for instance, Indianapolis practically clears for the whole state of Indiana, though there are sub-clearing centers covering their own particular regions. These are the clearing associations of Terre Haute or Evansville; and we have Cincinnati clearing for one corner of Indiana, and Chicago for another corner. Points like Terre Haute and Evansville may be said to clear for their own subdivisions and then in turn to clear with each other through the center of a division as a whole, like Indianapolis. The method of clearing in a large city clearing house is based on the same process as appears in the clearing of accounts between two people in the village bank, namely, the comparison of the bills of exchange. Just as two clerks from different counters in the village bank enter the various bills of exchange under debit and credit, resulting in a clearance in the accounts of a locality passing through the bank, so the entry by clerks of the debits and credits of the bills of exchange drawn upon the various banks in the clearing association of a large city results in a clearance

of the banks for the immediate city and region. The process is of course organized for facility and dispatch of the large movement at these centers. The representatives of the banks coming together in the city clearing association are essentially so many clerks drawn from different desks in the one large bank, as we have regarded the association. Each bank sends two clerks—a “delivery clerk” and a “settling clerk.” During the process of settlement, or clearance, the different checks drawn upon the different banks show the account of each bank with the clearing house. What one bank owes to another bank it for the time owes to the clearing house and what one bank should receive from another bank it receives from the clearing house. It is a clearing house account.

To be understood, the process of clearing is best reduced to three banks. We suppose, for example, that bank A owes bank B, and so owes the clearing house, \$200. Bank A owes bank C, owes clearing house, \$500. Bank A therefore owes clearing house \$700 in all. Likewise, bank B owes bank A, owes clearing house, \$600. Bank B owes bank C, owes clearing house, \$400. Thus bank B owes to the clearing house in all \$1,000. Again, bank C owes bank A, owes clearing house, \$300. Bank C owes bank B, owes clearing house, \$100. Bank C then owes the clearing house in all \$400. Whatever the banks owe bank A, clearing house owes A. Banks B and C together owe Bank A \$900; therefore the Clearing House owes A \$900. For the same reason the clearing house owes bank B \$300 and bank C \$900. We thus find that A owes clearing house \$700 and the clearing house owes A \$900. The clearing house is debtor to A in the whole transaction \$200. C owes the clearing house \$400 and the clearing house owes C \$900. In the total transaction, in the balancing of accounts, the clearing house is therefore debtor to C \$500. Finally, B owes the clearing house \$1,000 and the clearing house owes B \$300, making, in the full transaction, B debtor to the clearing house \$700. Now, if the clearing house

owes A \$200 and C \$500, then it owes altogether, is debtor, \$700; and since B owes the clearing house \$700, the clearing house is creditor altogether \$700, or just enough to pay all that it owes to banks A and C. The business of the day is closed at the clearing house when bank B pays to clearing house its debt of \$700 and [†] clearing house pays this over to banks A and C. The \$700, or amount to balance, is paid in the commodity gold or its equivalent, completing the actual exchange and affording the accurate registration. With this tracing of the divisional movement to its center, we may look beyond to the centralized exchange of the country as a whole.

In the wider movement, drafts and checks passing through the divisional banks are drawn on New York. This is a provision which makes it possible for the banks to clear their accounts as a whole, through a common center. This involves the same principle of balancing through centralization that we have seen in the lesser movement. The people of a locality balance their accounts through drawing checks on the local bank; the local banks balance their accounts through drawing checks on the regional, or divisional, center; in turn the divisional centers balance their accounts through exchange drawn on New York as center for the whole country. The operation of the central clearing house, at New York, is essentially like the operation of the clearing house in the divisional city, only enlarging and adapting the same machinery to a greater volume of business. The fascinating report by Mr. White* of the full operation of the New York Clearing House for a day can be read by those unfamiliar with the detail of clearing. The centralized Exchange touches in three hours a hundred millions of the register of commerce, and the lines of balance flow back upon the provinces. The New York clearings are double that of the clearings of all the other cities in the Union put together. "The reason for this is", says Mr. White, "that New York is the place where the other

*"Money and Banking," chap. II.

cities balance their claims against each other." In other words, New York is a central clearing for the whole country as well as its own immediate traffic. There are about eighty clearing houses in the United States, in the sense of the first-class cities, or divisional centers proper.

The system more unifies when we see the National Treasury as phase of the general movement of the registration of exchange. The department of the Treasury which through the Comptroller of the Currency has appointed to it direction of given requirements of the National Banking system, stands for certain exactions of the public as to the security, or accuracy, of registration. Another phase of the National Treasury, that which meets the pension checks and other National drafts, has the relation to the general movement of one bank among the other banks. In fact the Sub-Treasurer at New York is one of the members of the New York Clearing House. His representative sits to adjust his exchange, virtually the exchange of his bank, precisely as do the other banks. The so-called legal tender greenbacks issued by the government we have seen are practically registration issued by the Treasury as a bank, just as any national bank issues its notes of circulation as feature of its exchange. In both cases these are that form of the bill of exchange which is the promissory note. The minting of money by the National Treasury is, and so argues Mr. White, but a stamping of the value of commodities, gold and silver; though it must be understood that the fiction of their legal tender, or enforced circulation as "money," lends to them a false value above a normal movement of exchange, or exchange at approximate cost.

There is left to place the remainder of exchange. The banks outside of the National Banking system join the general movement of organization which is seen in the usual banking relationships and make their adjustments through the regular clearing houses, either as independent members themselves or through combinations with banks that are members. With this, we have reduced the entire registration of exchange to essential unity, centralizing

by locality and by divisions and through the one center as a whole.

The American Bankers Association stands for the more currently accepted legislative union of Exchange. It is composed of the representative bankers of the country. They have their president, or executive officer, who may be called the nominal head of Exchange. At the meetings of the Association rules of improvement in organization of the system are brought forward and voted upon.

The action of the Association shows tendency toward closer organization in Exchange. To provide freer movement and more efficient registration the Association at its Baltimore meeting, in 1894, proposed the "Baltimore Plan:" that the Government permit the National banks to become themselves responsible for their circulating notes, without the deposit of Government bonds. On account of the large premiums on bonds the system is prohibitive. Under it banknote circulation has tended to die out. As redemption security the banks propose a simple guarantee fund of ten per cent. of their circulation, five per cent. of this to be an initial deposit, by each bank in proportion to its circulation, and the balance to be raised by one-half of one per cent. annual tax on circulation up to the ten per cent. limit of fund, when it is to cease;—the tax to be resumed by the Comptroller of the Currency when in his opinion it is necessary to keep alive the body of the guarantee fund.

The signal further step which may be anticipated, as meeting the exactions of an accurate registration, is that the bankers as a body become responsible for each other's operations in every direction. This would only be to do more absolutely what they for the most part do at the present time in their scrutiny of the validity of each other's paper. And if, further than this, we anticipate banking at the cost of service, we have reduced exchange to measure of exact registration and to absolute organization, or relation, in the State.

There is a marked tendency of the banks to get together seen in the issuing of clearing house certificates under times of pressure in the balance of exchange, in crises brought about by the fear of the people as to the accuracy of the registration—the fear that the paper of exchange is not properly based on commodity, on exchange actual. The banks in this virtually pool their reserves and issue certificates upon them to each bank in proportion to the collateral security which it can offer, that is, in proportion to whatever valid paper or discounts it may have—the valid registration representing exact exchange in commodity. This is an indication of the tendency of the banks to formally become security in total for each other's operations.

We know that the bankers do not yet gather a consciousness of the full measure of their own unity and the majesty of the lines upon which they are moving. This comes to us because as a body they do not make conscious cleavage between the registration of exchange at cost and the pawnbroking side of the business. The pawnbroking side of banking finds its features in anything that overtaxes, juggles, or otherwise obstructs trade. These are, for instance, discount and interest beyond actual cost of service ; and certain sequestering of truth as to conditions of exchange. The banks restrain full publicity where it touches their business. They do not give all the facts about the Central Pacific road, for instance. Recent developments have shown that they do not wholly trust their business, as moving upon organic lines. They have the notion which is cheaply upon show, that there is patriotism in forty stars. Yet the unjust steward of Exchange, unmindful of the principle of his business, may do more to sell democracy into anarchy than some millions of yet unguided searchers after the even commerce. When the history of the present crisis is told the wonder may be that the master of the world's exchange, over whose counter pass the moving lines of earth, should so little realize the direction of his own ends. As disquali-

fying the greatness of a free exchange we find the master of banking virtually clipping coin, when through secret channels he plays for advantage in its holding. Nor in saying this need we be forgetful of the fierce crush of an unregulated commerce beating upon the banker, who for the time can only stay it with some measure of the usurious vault. But the strangeness is that there are not some to stand against the narrow thrift of their clan. Gold is now at a fabulous premium over the actual cost of its production; at least two hundred per cent. It is at a premium of near three hundred per cent. relative to former exchange on wheat,—the unit dollar in gold used to go for half a bushel of wheat but recently it has gone for two bushels, while the cheapened cost of mining has kept pace with cheapened cost of farming. In this there is little commensurability on either hand as to essential cost of production, or functional value. Men not unjustly decry the banker as a pawnbroker so far as he fails to register exchange on these and all other commodities at actual cost of production, actual labor in them.

But conditions are propelling the banker forward. With no unusual discernment, he has marked the pathetic isolation of the Treasury at Washington in relation to the movement of trade. But, along with the people, he does not yet clearly see it, having no principle by which to place it. Nevertheless, we may see the banker, whatever his consciousness, clearly turned against the isolation of the National Treasury in the commercial movement. Mr. Cleveland in his annual message to Congress, December 7th, 1896, in his reference to the financial system of the Government presents the difficulty which has long stood as the conflict between the operation of the exchange system of the country and the National Treasury. It is understood that Mr. Cleveland wrote this at the suggestion of leading bankers. The quandary of the Government Treasury office has been how to deal with the two parts of the lesion which regards exchange partly as private business and partly as public business; or

which, in the organic view, fails to act upon the need of absolute unity for the whole exchange business under a single head, as seen in the New York Clearing House. The reality of Mr. Cleveland's recommendation to Congress in the message referred to, that the Government practically go out of the business of issuing money and leave it to the banks, is that the officials at Washington as voice of the banker apprehend in much the inefficiency and counter-play of the Treasury system relative to the exchange movement of the country.

In completing the view of the organized Exchange we take added hold by finding its parallel mechanism in the sympathetic nervous system of the animal body. Exchange is the organ which is the automatic intelligence equalizing the circulation in the social body. The New York clearing house is the solar-plexus of the sympathetic, or automatic, nerve lying at the center of the nutritive system of democracy. As inference of this we make probable that the exchange system of America must ultimately absorb the National Treasury and the entire money function, making the one system.

The nature of the organic money and its bearings may be seen in terms of the every day transaction about us, but under reduction to service at cost, while retaining for the moment the fiction of the private ownership. We need to call clearly to mind that the principle of money is the registered exchange, or scheme for tracking the movement of division of labor in the State; it is the automatic machinery for balancing trade, effecting equivalency of exchange, or exchange at cost. We have seen that the unit of exchange is a decimal based on active labor, as universal measure of function. The hundred, or the dollar, is made the unit and is put as the equivalent of an hour's work or a day's work or whatever is agreed upon as the standard. We can assume that a dollar is made a day's labor. The efficiency of the dollar as standard based upon labor is that it does not get out of joint in ratio to production, for the value of production of any article is acquired not from any accident in its scarci-

ty or surplus, but in terms of the labor which is put into it.

To begin, let us conceive the Clearing House as having its existence in simply balancing exchange paper based on labor in every form, what it now virtually does, though under peculiarities of the private ownership and certain falsities of registration. We may suppose that Mr. V. writes a check on the Central Clearing House for \$30 to a man who has worked 30 days for him. To balance this the man draws a check for one cent to Mr. V., on the basis that V. has made division of labor with his 3000 employees, that is, has worked one cent's worth for one man. When V. has paid all his 3000 men, they have all paid him and he also has received \$30. Organically, these checks have disposition at Exchange as a personal credit for thirty days, which may be checked against. The paper is not itself transferable; it is limited in its function to the record of exchange in the item of a man's own labor. It is not of itself and apart a commodity; it is only in use that it exists, has value: and this use is as record of exchange, as record of the transaction of the person who owns it. All of these checks come to the Central Clearing House and their sum shows the labor which Transportation Class, for instance, has received pay for, being 90,030 days. Add to these all other checks drawn by V. on the Central Clearing House in behalf of Transportation to supplies at cost of production, as coal, oil, etc., including cost of his exchange, and we would have the total payment for days' labor entering into transportation. Let \$140,000 be the total sum. This is one side of the transaction. The other side is that Transportation must give evidence through checks arriving at the Central Clearing House that it has offset this payment for labor by equivalent production, or labor; the monthly balance must show an equivalent work performed for other members, or Classes, of the State. V. must sell, and there must come to the Central Clearing House, say \$80,000 worth of passenger tickets, and in addition there must come to the Central Clearing House

from V. checks received for freight. We may suppose that there turns up, drawn to Mr. V. on the Central Clearing House, checks aggregating \$50,000 as payment of freights. The business for the month accordingly shows a deficit of \$10,000, against Transportation. This \$10,000, unbalanced, is made a "held" check, an overdraft at Exchange by Transportation. It runs on at the Clearing House until offset. We may assume that it is met or more than met by heavier demand on Transportation for the succeeding month. It is on the basis of a series of months, or for a year, that the estimate of the rate, or cost, of Transportation is made, as with the estimate at present on postage. If for any considerable period Transportation runs behind in its checks at the Clearing House then they have to be balanced by figuring a percentage of increase on the cost of tickets and hundredweight of freight. In turn, there may be for an extended period an over-plus of checks to the credit of Transportation; this is corrected by lowering tariff. And either of these corrections of tariff is continued in force until through failure to balance at the Central Clearing House it is again found necessary to revise it.

This is the logical movement, or action principle, of money considered as function at cost, while retaining nominally the private ownership. But under the functional money, or equivalency of exchange, the private ownership is merely nominal and can have no force, except in some favoritism to an employee, and the latter item finds correction in a veto or negative by the organized workers. The owner could not give tickets to friends or buy votes with them or otherwise lend disorder, because every passenger ticket and freight voucher is provided for at cost by personal check on Clearing House. And there is in the organic money the correction of publicity against irregular action in general, since every transaction must pass its check through the public counting-room.

There could be no complaint against the organic money as "fiat," because it is redeemed by the transaction itself. The functional money is but the record of a

transaction already had. In contrast we see the stupendous "fiat" of to-day in the registration of exchange on a gold basis which does not exist. The amount of exchange is the total of transaction. Gold cannot equal all commodity exchanged and itself too. A commodity can only stand for itself, can only be its own basis. And there is the "fiat" to-day of arbitrarily taking gold out of its legitimate economics, taking it away from the mechanic arts, etc., in giving it fictitious value through a fictitious use as "base." Nor can the functional money here proposed abet the "fiat," or fraud, which through every device of margin wrests money from one's fellows, because it is not money until it is functionally used; one's possession is not seizable by any device, being in the form of a periodic credit on the Exchange Office, in terms of personal use. It shuts out the "fiat," or piracy, of its employment against the public, because at every step a man's personal check reveals what he uses his credit for. Nor can it dispose to the "fiat," or trick, by which a man takes away the personal liberty of another man, since it cannot be mortgaged or transferred, being a credit at Exchange not having force as between persons. It is against the "fiat" of hoarding—the falsity of taking out of use.

The thirty-day limit of the functional money, or credit, obtains because it sufficiently covers the need, or life, of a man figured on the periodic turn of the social body. The State knows a man in terms of his function for a given number of days, at the end of which time all accounts are balanced and the nation moves to the record of another period. There has to be a time limit in the balancing of the accounts, or checks, of the nation, because otherwise it would not be economical book-keeping to trace them. That is the way men do business now. The Exchange has simply to do with the functional movement of the State as an equation of trade within limits. And this may be placed at thirty days, or whatever period is practical and convenient in balancing. The present rule in balancing accounts is thirty days.

If a man or a Class preserves anything from a given thirty days, if a credit is not exhausted during its time limit, the undrawn portion has been saved, primarily for the State and next for the private interest which has benefited through the saving of the State. In this it is discovered that we save for ourselves by saving for the Whole. But the way in which we save best for the State and for ourselves is to spend enough to make us efficient instruments in our place. In accord with this, a man's credit at the Clearing House is based on the general estimate of the needs of a man to make himself an efficient instrument. The State does not want a man to save any part of his credit unless he can demonstrate to common sense that he is better off for not spending it. And the same truth applies to the saving by the Class as a whole; it does best when it spends enough to make itself an efficient body. The embarrassment will be to explain why we save our money. A dictum of the economist has been that saving by the individual is the bulwark of the State; and that men will not save unless they profit by it. It is seen that the great saving by which men profit is to save the State itself, a man gaining most through the integrity of its machinery. At last, men learn that private saving is the great danger to the State; and further, with the new light of the organism we know that through the public saving a man is enabled to save to better advantage, there being full accounting and the minimum of waste. In the last analysis, it is realized that saving has no meaning except it make instrument in the State to fare men better—a sleeping-car, a cottage, a safe bridge, a good orchestra, a fattened beef, a bunch of violets. The mistaken notion of saving was to keep something from the use of men—to keep from division of labor. The saving for minors, accident, or dependence of any age has no meaning in the Organic State; these persons belong to the several Classes with which by former labor or by ties they have connection, and they draw their equal pay with other members of the Class in the logic of apportionment of service, which gives preparation and disability

to their necessary agents—such serve as minors or disablement. It is a service to the State that the apprentice lends himself, and that the afflicted or old have fortitude and do not take themselves off in front of our door. Thus, we do not save specifically for our offspring. As soon as the child is born it goes on the pay-roll of the Class to which its ties belong ; it is an investment of the State—an instrument shaping.

The reality of the heirloom is that a man may keep a fiddle or a ring so long as he continues to regard it enough to pay the trifling rent which the Musician Class or Dress Class puts upon it. The persons who rent jewels will have to deny themselves other things in degree. Certain things one buys for life use, paying through life continuous instalments. If a friend or descendant wants it as remembrance, he likewise buys it for life, as bequeathed to him. In general, as to the keepsakes of men, we realize that the State does not impair its members, and the heirloom is the integrity or ease of a person at some juncture. But in the end, a fine violin, for instance, would of necessity return to the use of the State, to the Musician Class, when not used by some expert ; a dilettante or a sentimentalist would have to rent an instrument that was not in better use.

The organic money, economically operative as registering equivalency of trade, rises through the absolute Bill of Exchange, discarding the private ownership, which analysis has shown to be purely nominal under conditions of exchange at cost. At the outset we raise clearly in mind five vital points. First—Money must in its essential form correspond to the present true money which we have discovered to be the Bank Check ; a record paper which only comes into existence by use and which ceases to be in the using, being destroyed or cancelled. Thus we seek first and foremost to facilitate the equable exchange by the simplest instrument giving such result. Second—The instrument of exchange, money, must in every instance record the item, value, time of occurrence and personel of the transaction as a guarantee of publi-

city, going to enforce accounting and fix responsibility. If any man whatever cannot know that division of labor is being accurately performed, that trade of function is systematic in process, then the State is without meaning, and it is likewise without correction. If a transaction is known to have taken place at some moment and if the man knowing this cannot absolutely determine the validity of that transaction, then the State is not qualified in men's consciousness as fact, or public function. The instrument of exchange must not only record the transaction in its detail of trade, persons, time and place, but in such easy simplicity that any citizen may be afterwards permitted to put his finger and his eye upon it. The citizen must be able to apply to the counter of Exchange within reasonable time limits and demand the record of a given transaction, and the teller must be able to produce it with despatch. A citizen of the Organic State might be supposed in some instance to want to know whether a man buying a theatre ticket made a functional transaction out of it, whether he traded an equivalent of his own labor for the labor represented by the ticket. To locate a dead-head is the preservation of the State. Third—The instrument of exchange must be such that a man is only able primarily to save for the Whole. We have seen that in saving for the Whole he saves best for himself. Fourth—The State being based on division of labor there must be the distinct office of Exchange. Its business is to regulate and control the instrument of trade, or money. It corresponds to the banks and clearing houses of to-day and finds its existence in their closer organization and advance in methods. Fifth—The functional money must have its time limitations, answering to the convenience of the Exchange Class in balancing all checks, or transactions.

The recount of this is that the money must check both sides of the transaction as to item and amount and must give the day, hour and minute, the place, and the immediate persons to the transaction. To make this effective, the check, or used money, recording the trans-

action must be immediately returnable, through cancelling and registering "slot machines," to distinct office of Exchange for a locality. The medium of trade must not be usable for more than thirty days or whatever time is determined by the Exchange Class. The left-over, or unused, medium must be returnable to Exchange for cancellation at the end of the time-limit—30 days—as demanded by the true method of saving and the function of Exchange in balancing its checks.

The more movable exchange medium answering to these conditions, one of two forms of money and known as "Buyer Exchange," is a book of dollars and fractional dollars, or stamps, marked *Buyer* on their face—much like the present mileage book of the railroads. It is perforated and can be torn from in varying amounts. This Exchange is negotiable for thirty days and represents the service of the Class carrying it. The money is the medium of exchange between Classes; the State does not recognize the person except as "agent" of his Class. The Class goes to the nearest Exchange Office and gets this money as fast as it needs it, just as now business firms go to their nearest bank and get what they need to do business with. The money is drawn from the Exchange Office by each Class as follows. A Class has to buy from other Classes for its employees, food, housing, clothing, heat, light, transportation, etc. The easy way to pay these Classes for this detailed service and according to the taste of persons is to let each member, or employee, buy whatever he personally wants. Each person, as the "agent" of his Class, commissioned to buy from other Classes what he personally needs, receives a book of *Buyer* stamps at the Exchange Office in an amount corresponding to his personal service. To get this he goes to the Exchange Office with his time-card signed by the paymaster of his division. If the person has worked full time, 30 days, and if the rate is \$1 per day, the book of *Buyer* stamps contains \$30 worth. If his time voucher did not call for full service, then the book when delivered to him by the Exchange teller re-

quires to have the deficiency pulled from it, under regulative check. When the Class has further need to pay its fellow Classes for service its proper agent applies for *Buyer* stamps at the Exchange Office with an order signed by the proper officer of his Class. In most cases the Class may wish to draw out on the first of the month and have on hand a quantity of *Buyer* stamps corresponding to its anticipated or average purchases, in supplies of wheat, coal, iron, groceries, etc., just as the person found it convenient to have his money in hand in amount sufficient to meet usual personal needs. Under the regulation check system, the receiver, or buyer, of the book of *Buyer* stamps has to pay with his money, stamps pulled from his book, the price which the Exchange Office puts upon this book as covering the expenses of exchange function—the cost of the book as figured on the basis of the labor in its production, standing for the expenses of Exchange Class.

The second form of money, the offset, or companion medium, and known as “Seller Exchange,” is likewise a book of dollars and fractional dollars, or stamps, but marked *Seller* on their face. This is perforated and can be pulled out like the other book in varying amounts. This money is used at the counter by the seller to balance *Buyer* stamps in every instance, on every check.

The man and the Class may now spend their money, or *Buyer* stamps, wherever they need to use it. The proceeding is as follows. Under the conditions of exchange which we have noted, the principle is that two checks virtually pass at every transaction—one given to the buyer and one given to the seller. The buyer makes out the first check, which is equivalent to an itemized order on the seller for what he wants. The buyer then stamps it with enough of his *Buyer* stamps to cover the amount of his purchase, and passes it with a duplicate check, in blank, to the seller. In delivering the order the second check is made out by the seller and he in turn stamps it with *Seller* stamps for enough to cover the sale. Each check is a voucher for the other side of the transaction ;

and they are drawn on Exchange Office to the respective parties to transaction—seller's check drawn to the buyer, and buyer's check to the seller. To illustrate the principle:—

(1st)	(2nd)
EXCHANGE OFFICE	EXCHANGE OFFICE
Pay to FOOD	Pay to CLOTHING
5c. Seller : meat.	5c. Buyer : meat.
(Signed) CLOTHING ;	(Signed) Food ;
per J. Burns.	per H. Brown.

[Note—J. Burns signs CLOTHING as agent of his Class in this transaction, and in addition his Class is known by CLOTHING printed across the face of his *Buyer* stamps.

H. Brown signs Food as agent of his Class, and in addition his Class is known by Food printed across the face of his *Seller* stamps.

“Exchange Office pay to Food 5c. Seller,” means that Exchange is to pay to Food 5c. in *Seller* stamps, whenever Food asks for them at Exchange ; in other words, the 5c. check passes to the credit of Food, which is taken out in *Seller* stamps when Food needs a further supply of such stamps.

“Exchange Office Pay to Clothing 5c. Buyer,” means that Exchange will pay to Clothing 5c. in *Buyer* stamps ; in other words, the 5c. ordered paid to Clothing passes to its credit, which may be taken out in *Buyer* stamps when Clothing needs a further supply of same.

“Meat” in one case is the item bought ; in the other case, it is the same item sold.

On the margin of (1st) is affixed a 5c. *Buyer* stamp ; on the margin of (2nd) is affixed a 5c. *Seller* stamp.]

Again, in the non-personal transaction of the Class :—

(1st)	(2nd)
EXCHANGE OFFICE	EXCHANGE OFFICE
Pay to MINES	Pay to TRANSPORTATION
\$50,000. Seller : coal.	\$50,000. Buyer : coal.
(Signed) TRANSPORTATION ;	(Signed) MINES ;
per J. Oliver.	per C. Norton.

[Note—This is in principle the same as the former, and like remarks apply.]

This check proceeding will reduce in practice to a single check, or ticket, instead of the duplicate checks outlined. This single check has "meat," or whatever single item is sold, printed upon it. Checks will hang conveniently at all counters, each item by itself. The face of the check is divided into three parts. The name of the article is printed in the middle portion; on one end is a blank space for the buyer to affix his stamp, and on the other end one for the seller to affix his. Buyer and seller, as "agents" of their respective Classes, put their names on the back of this ticket. The name of Class printed across the face of *Buyer* stamp and *Seller* stamp will show the buyer and seller, as Class, to the transaction. The amount of *Buyer* stamps as balanced by *Seller* stamps will indicate quantity and value of purchase. It may be presumed in each case that the signatures will be done by hand-stamp, labor-saving devices being employed. The ticket being stamped and signed and the transaction thus balanced, it is deposited in the Exchange slot, and automatically cancelled and registered as to time and place. From these boxes, or slot-machines, the Exchange carrier collects them on his rounds, as the mail carrier collects letters from the mail-box. Arriving at Exchange office they pass under the eye of clerk as to accuracy of balance and are sorted and filed, and tabulation made of business done in each item of trade by each Class. Hour by hour the different local Exchanges report to the divisional Clearing Houses, and these to the Central Clearing House. The latter bulletins, hourly or daily, the National trade in the total amount of business, the bulletins reaching the country as a whole through the Divisional Clearing House and the local or branch Exchanges. The divisional and local trade would be bulletined by their several Exchanges.

A third instrument of exchange, acting as check upon the *Buyer* and *Seller* stamps, and moving to a triple balance, is the "Package" stamp, corresponding to the present postage stamp. The stamps of the post office, for instance, would be the "Letter," or "Wire," and "Par-

cel" post. These would be put on the letter, parcel, or message, and cancelled in the using. Similarly, all distributing counters would have stamps for the supplies they carried. These would be put on the packages and cancelled, in amounts agreeing with the price of contents. The *Package* stamp of passenger transportation and the playhouse corresponds to the present railroad and theatre tickets. The stubs of the books from which the *Package* stamp is pulled will, without computation, show instantly at any time of day the sales in any particular line. At the close of business these sales, reported to the Exchange Office by wire or through collection of stubs, give the third account of the total transaction of the day, by items. These would have to equal the tickets stamped in *Buyer* and *Seller*—making the three-cornered balance-sheet of democracy.

In this way any day the trading of the Nation, both locally and as a whole, can be accurately known, the knowledge prompting the movement of trade. The number of items of supply and sale in food, etc., tend to reduce to the minimum through making uniform and standardizing products. The trend of the bulletins of Exchange for any extended period, or as compared with the trade of the same month the previous year, would show a balance favoring or against a given Class, and, as we have seen, would on the one hand indicate a percentage of fall in the price of commodities in this Class, or on the other hand a possible rise in the prices of this Class. A sensation of the Exchange bulletins would be this augur of a change of tariff in some commodity.

If we look for the relation of Exchange to Distribution, we have but to see that the prices on the items of production are made by each Class to cover the amount it pays to Distribution for the service. Each Class pays a lump sum to Distribution for service rendered. It may be said that each Class distributes its own wares, but through employing and paying the division of labor which is the organized merchant. Distribution is logically a phase of production, like transportation or any other work

done for a Class by a Class. This cheapens both Exchange and Distribution, for it is obviously simpler to move an item to the consumer through one check than through several.

Wall Street has its meaning as the machine of the Feudal, founded on the bonding of industry—the obstruction of commerce. The bond is the unfunctioned, the unemployed and obstructive thing, so far as it is outside of the active movement of exchange, outside the actual registration of the exact transaction. The bond, like a note or check, so far as it represents actual cost of production, stands as an instrument of registration in an exchange—a phase of the bill of exchange. In the railroad business, so far as the bond covers the actual cost of road it in measure represents expenditure for the Railroad Class by other Classes, by other people at large. The function of the bond would stand as registration at Exchange for service by other Classes to the railroads. Through receipts from freight and passenger carriage this should be returned by the Railroad Class to those it got it from, to other interests or service in the State. The bond, as representing actual outlay, would have to be balanced by the production of the indebted roads or the pooled roads as a whole. The legitimate transaction is for the roads to carry at regular rates enough passengers and freight to equal actual cost of enterprise, that is, to pay actuality of bonds, including at the same time repairs and running expenses of roads. Under exact exchange, under legitimate function of the investment paper, the bond should then be cancelled, and fares reduced to cover running expenses, simply. If the public has paid “interest” on the bonds sufficient to cover the actual expenditure they represent, then the bonds should, under legitimate exchange, be cancelled as balanced, without further payment. Interest or other collections from the public in excess of an amount actually balancing the essential bond, or bond at cost, is that much falsity of exchange. It is the trading in these unreal “investments” that represents the illegitimate Exchange, the false Bourse. The whole field engaged in

this occupation of the spurious Exchange is an unproductive waste. Worse than this, it represents that much disorganization, that much diversity or obstruction relative to legitimate commerce; it is that much preying upon men. Those engaged in this manipulation essentially, are outside of any division of labor in the State. On the side of the railroad "securities," it is the conception of a robber's fastness hidden in the secret of the Steam. We have noted that ten billions are bonded on the locomotive in America, carrying its untold thefts in watered shares. Added to this crime against the locomotive, we have seen the irregular Bourse manipulating the industrial shares in the great flouring mills, Standard Oil, sugar, breweries, cereals, gas, coal, and the great copper, iron, silver and gold mines; it has corrupted legislatures and the Congress; it is buying and selling the integrity of the News, syndicating Courts and Presidents.

The obstructive Bourse must tend to break of its own weight. The conditions leading to the cry of "lack of confidence" the country over, as injuring business, which Wall Street in its emissaries has started—charging it to mushroom financial policies—is the result of the method of Wall Street itself whereby for years it has been fleecing everybody who had money to invest. The fact that in addition to the railway shares industrial shares are coming to be watered right and left has broken the confidence of investors everywhere so that they are at a loss which way to turn. The operations of the false or secret Bourse, based in its very structure, cannot abate from year to year, until we get a purification of commerce in a renovation the like of which the world has not known. The prediction can be made with great certainty that Wall Street, typifying the unregistered and obstructive investments, must finally collapse. The growing stringency in exchange, and the congestion of distribution, may be expected to advance the consciousness of the people and bring them finally to the turn upon the old conditions—bring them finally to the negative in which they know at least what they do *not* want. Clearly, what they do not want will

be their continued taxation on the false registration of the watered shares and the continued payment over and over of the cost investment through "interest" device.

The New York and other Clearing Houses are the menace to the false commerce of the watered shares. The Clearing Houses are more and more refusing this kind of stock as collateral, showing the tendency of the real commerce to slough off the dead thing. This is one phase of the indications of a growing integrity of Exchange. The Clearing Houses as a body might have it in their power to advance the organization of commerce, the Classes, by refusing the uncertainty and complication which they find in the multiplicity of collateral paper—as in the individual warehouse certificate of wheat and other products—ordering that a given line of industry to get its collateral through the banks must come together and certify its paper through a central head, as of an organized Class, or division of industry. They would see the betterment of security in making the whole of a given line of industry responsible for the part. The Central Clearing House could urge against objections the fact that stability and economy in the movement of Exchange compelled this. In any great break-up of the infected commerce, through a settling in securities, the reorganization on legitimate lines and the caution of the banks against all suspicious paper in the future might compel some rigorous rule in this direction. It here raises itself as a possible outcome of the fever of the troubled Exchange. How far such advance would take cognizance of the full principle of organization and compel measure of recognition of labor in the organizing industries, is a matter of conjecture. The banks might declare that the stability of the industrial shares rested on labor having voice in the management. They could point out that the trouble with the paper, or collateral, of commerce in the past has been that labor has not had voice in the accounting—could not modify falsities through prompting to public showing on cost of production, the only possible basis of accounting. The present falsity in paper is the hidden thing,

the unregistered or irresponsible transaction. The banks might easily see this as fundamental ; or might see that stable labor is the basic collateral. The drift would be this way in the long run, and not away from it. The tendency in the average, whatever momentary change, must be counted upon as toward this.

As movement toward the Organism, we look for utterances of the rising consciousness touching the reality of money. The recognition of the disorder, on the part of the people, which is the negative preparing the next advance, is seen in the way in which men have come on every hand to speak of petty larceny and all forms of statutory thieving as no worse than the bankers and money brokers are doing. People are also speaking of the slavery to the money changers. Men mock at the present falsity of money when they say that Mr. George Gould, in the Manhattan Elevated road and other lines, has inherited the streets of New York. There is the same force in the growing remark that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan gives a thousand to "art" and "charity" that the public may not too closely scrutinize his millions. A prominent New York banker has made the statement in public that the people are misled by the financiers as to the real nature of money. He puts forward that money in its reality is not a commodity, as gold and silver ; that it can not in its nature have intrinsic value out of use, as it is an instrument simply for the exchange of values. He points out that trade, pushed by turmoil, must become aware that the true money is a paper medium based on the stability of the Nation and issued in proportion to the per capita—that is, based in effect upon labor. While he does not get clear over, his sight is startlingly in line with the development. He avers that more bankers than are known must in their reality endorse his conviction, it being in accord with what many by half openly recognize. Mr. Tom Johnson, the Congressman and financier of Cleveland, in the '96 Presidential canvass held that the issue was neither gold nor silver but some form of paper based on all commodities, that is, on the ability of

organized society to procure any commodity in the market, not alone gold and silver. He declared that the value of gold is based upon the stability of government. He asked how much any one would give for gold if there was no organization of labor. He recognizes our present social status as so much advance in the organization of industry. Pushed to explanation of his own maneuvers of prehension, he indicated that he could but go on taking as long as the people wanted him to and left him the right kind of money. Governor Pingree of Michigan confesses that any kind of money that the Government wants to make is good enough for him—as long as it exchanges things.

The money plank of the Chicago Platform in its backing by the enormous vote of 1896 may be considered an indication of the rising of the Nation toward the equable exchange. The element of false banking which centers in the unregistered Bourse has in an extended period so manipulated financial legislation that we find increase in the fictitious value of gold, pushing it upward from its commodity value, disjoining its relations with trade. Gold relative to production buys in many cases double what it did in the sixties. This action has at base the conception of the enablement of the margin device. For if, as we are aware, exchange can be limited in its terms to only one commodity, as against all commodity in terms of labor, then the person playing for advantage can promote the margin of this one commodity over the others. For instance, a man in the position to play the game of margin, conditions of unequal exchange giving him possession of the one commodity, can appreciate or maintain the rental of a house while reducing by half the price of all production put into it. In other words, if through the power to possess the commodity gold in a peculiar and fictitious use he can continue the same rent on a building costing half as much, then he has increased his margin in gold, as measured by the thing it buys. This is what the Astors have done in New York, which is typical of every part of the country. The commodity

labor, at base of things the only commodity, or as embodied in all commodity, pays the margin; in other words, all other commodity, as finally referable to labor, suffers depreciation or inequality of expression in proportion to the enhanced margin of gold. The rent, as the margin of gold, exacted from a grocer on his house or his place of business has to be taken out of the commodity labor, in a cent more on sugar and flour. Ultimately the farmer receives less for his wheat and the shoemaker gives more; in one way or another all labor pays the margin. If, in general, exchange is at base a trading of labor, it is manifestly a principle that the enhancement of given products proportionately prejudices other products, or other labor; enhancement of gold, in fine, must ultimately come out of some form of labor without equable return to it. For, if the margin is ultimately returned, all labor has the same resources of living as has the margin taker. But we know that the great mass of labor is at present embarrassed in resources, while the Astors, representing the margin on gold, have a yacht. As further instance, we see that under the fiction of appreciation in the gold dollar railroad rates have doubled in recent years. This is apparent, if labor, or production, now gets half as much in gold as it did formerly and the railroad rate, like the rental on the house, is maintained where it was. While the producer gets half the price he formerly did, he pays the same railroad rate on the articles of consumption entering into his living—since transportation adds its tax to the movement of commodity and labor finally meets the bill. It thus appears that the reality of the vote sustaining the money plank of the Chicago Platform is in so far a determination of the people to reduce the fiction built up around the commodity gold by the pawnbroking exchange in its manipulation of the processes of the State. While the people may not regard it in this particular form of the indictment, they nevertheless regard it rightly in the general notion which prevails that they are moving to restore the equilibrium existing between the cost of gold and the cost of silver in their or-

ganic relations—exact cost of production, devoid of all fiction of margin or holding.

The strenuous enthusiasm of the support of the Chicago Platform along its whole lines evidently has its fiber in the facing of action which the unequivocation of statement in the platform brings. Regarding the money plank, the issue as ratio is definitely put, and men may be for or against. A peculiar inspiration of the Platform is certainly this action on money which it precipitates, as against no action. In the short space succeeding the election of '96 there scarcely appears recession, either of determination or enthusiasm, in the position of the people who supported it. Apparently the fires burn more brightly and steadily and are lighted on more hill-tops.

It cannot be expected that this growing reality of the people towards the reduction of the spurious exchange, away from the falsity of appreciation in any single commodity, can stop with the two commodities, but rather that it must go on in a healthy movement toward the equation of all commodity in the settlement to the more absolute form of the bill of exchange—which we know purely registers commodity in its movement, taxing for this at cost. The practical concept of this is, of course, the public control, or, popularly, "Government ownership," of the Banking Machine. The declaration against the private control of the money function by the leaders of the Chicago outmovement must be seen to accord with this, however short the sight or limited the method. After all is said, the stupendous fact remains that the popular movement and its leadership has definitely faced toward the organic exchange. The headway toward reduction once fully gained, in the movement over to "free silver," it is doubtful if it can do other than continue, for we would probably encounter complete chaos of exchange as the result of any attempt to turn back. The turning could but be toward the increasing stringency and disaster of the present falsity. Finally, with the certainty that the people are growing on organic lines, we must conclude

that the movement cannot do other than drive clear through. The watchword must early be the public control, or "ownership," of the entire banking function, on the lines of the organic exchange, at cost of service.

The reality of property in the Exchange Class is in terms of the Exchange stamps, which stamps only exist in active employment. Since the function is the contribution of all division of labor in the State, the Exchange Class may only be allowed to tax money in proportion to the labor directly put into it. It may put the revenue or price upon the Exchange book which returns the support of the Exchange Class in its avenues of expenditure, precisely as the post-office now taxes for sale of stamps at cost for the post function.

A consideration of ethics. Obviously, the unreality of the college professor attached to the chair of Economics at the University, and others, talking ethics is that they do not sufficiently push their thought out into an objective—that is, into action in the State. They need to propose a practical ethic in the sense of some feasible action for freeing men. The postulation of ethic as something to be considered in itself and short of economic projection is a separation of subject and object—a brain lesion. Instead of talking apart, the business of the professing Doctor of politics can be to bring men to a knowledge of the practical out-movement. It may be pointed out that the content of ethical teaching has its present objective in speaking for the "referendum" principle in government, as further reduction of the ballot, along with which can be the inculcation of public ownership. These are front of the practical advance, because possible of popular shape and understanding.

CHAPTER VI

THE SYNTHESIS OF MIND : PSYCHOLOGY AS MOTION

Economics in the field of Letters requires a tool for reporting man in his mental aspect. Organization of Letters presupposes organization of knowledge. And man's mentality is a phase of knowledge without which a report of the State has no wholeness of meaning.

A waste in reporting mind is due to the absence of some simple and comprehensive language, or formula, for organizing it. The science is greatly at sea as to its principle of order, giving its present state and the direction of its growth. Through applying to mind the principle of union, or organization, which is the division of labor involved in any office, we should be able to find the degree of organization now existing, and the lines of the more simple advance. This is to find how far the language of mind is referable to a common unit, a common doing, how far it has become synthetic—and it is to find the lines of synthetic advance.

But in this we should at once move over to the illuminating fact that what we seek to do is in reality to follow psychology on the lines of a more exact science in the method of the essential expression of science—namely, terms of motion. For instance, the meaning of astronomy as an unified, synthetic and exact science is that the terms of all its phenomena are referable to a common unit of language, expressing motion. Advance toward grasp of each of the sciences has been as synthesis in terms of motion—the revolution of the planets, the circulation of the blood, the play of the atoms in chemistry, the circulation in the social body, etc.

The very principle, or law, of the language underlying the expression of any system, is referable to motion.

The system is action as a whole and its expression is in terms of division of labor. But this expression obviously carries within itself the notion of transference or change. The terminology which alone rises to this is the language of motion. Expression of the system must therefore have at base the recognition of this principle, or law.

Through later developments in psychology it would appear that this science is about to follow the others in the method of its simpler expression and more practical effect in life. All told, it becomes important to raise up, if possible, the language of mental motion as tool in anticipation of the report on the Organic Letters and its economic reductions. We therefore ask concerning the organization at present existing in the region of mind, while aiming to advance it on the lines of the principle. Accordingly, we first endeavor to gain the underlying expression of motion in its working method—with the aim of putting it upon that system which is the organism of mind, a region where motion, or division of labor, is less apparent on the surface view.

Motion in its method is an equilibrium of limits in terms of the divisions of labor making the system; in the same meaning, it is the equilibrium of the limits diversity and unity. When we ask ourselves what a star is we answer, with the knowledge possessed by most people, that it is a planet revolving around the sun. But if we carry this further we may say that the planet does something to the sun. What it does to the sun is to affect it in so far as its orbit and its attraction can. It does something to the sun so far that we say that the sun is the center of the planet's orbit, within the meaning of the ellipse. It exerts a certain effect upon the sun, the consequence of the absence of which no man can predicate. And all the other bodies of the solar system condition the sun in a similar manner, making it the center of the system. So that the sun as it exists to-day represents the common doing of all the solar bodies, of which itself is one. For, while one among other bodies making the full expression

of the solar system, it is the distinction or limit which is to be regarded as the centralized expression, or common doing, of all. As such it is a distinction, or limit, making division of labor in the system with the more diverse side, or limit—the varied action of the planets as distinguished from the sun.

Continuing, we say that the sun, as center of attraction of the solar system, holds the planets to their orbits in space through overcoming their tendency to move away, or, through neutralizing the force which as a whole the planets exert upon the center. In other words, the diverse limit of the system, as distinguished from the centralized limit, has the method of its expression in the equilibrium which the centralized expression of the system sustains to it. So that the solar system, whose phenomena we recognize as motion, has its reduction of method in the balance of dual limits, diversity and centralization—the former being a division of labor expressing itself in, or conditioning, centralization, and the latter being a division of labor expressing itself in, or conditioning, diversity.

Taking as another example the blood circulatory system of the animal, we have the like divisions of labor as a whole in the diverse side of the system and in the centralized side. In its reduction of method this likewise makes the dual limits of an equilibrium. It may be seen that the different parts, as diversity of the system, all act together in a common doing. This common doing, as centralized expression, is the heart as action, or the heart-beat as standing for the initial movement or central impulse of the blood. The heart acts, like the sun, because of its own specific organism, but also as acted upon by the more diverse side of the system in division of labor with it. The heart has its own organs as such—the muscle fibre, the nerve cells in its walls, etc. But it would not act, within the full meaning of its powers, unless it was conditioned by the diversity side of the system as a whole. The diversity includes the blood, arteries, capillaries, etc. The blood fills the cavities of the heart, stimu-

lating it to normal action. A further aspect of the diversity is the blood pressure, in part due to the action of the arteries in their elastic and resisting walls. And the blood, of course, affords the material without which the heart-beat would have no meaning or existence. And on the other hand, without the centralized division of labor which is the heart-beat we would not have any diverse side to the system as of the outlying action. These dual limits, centralization and diversity, exactly balance each other as motion.

However we view it, in whatever direction we look, the notion of division of labor in its reduction to dual limits in an equilibrium of centralization and diversity, reveals the phenomenon of motion. Though we regard the motion of the planet in its aspect of change merely, the popular view, it must still be seen as a division of labor, one of the limits of change, the other of which limit is the counter-play of force which sustains or balances it. They are both concerned as phases of equilibrium in that expression which is change. Likewise, the change which we call the circulation of the blood, is one phase, or limit, of a dual action ; the other limit is the centralized expression of equating force which enters into the change. Looking further, we may take the change or motion seen in the swaying bough. We recognize that the force of the wind is a factor in this motion ; other factor is the resistance or elasticity of the fibre of the tree ; another factor is the gravity of the earth. We recognize that these forces all balance each other in that distinction of motion or expression which we call the swaying limb. The motion of the limb is an exact equilibrium expressing a common doing of certain diverse forces.

Whenever we see change, therefore, we have to recognize it as the expression of a system having its reality in a particular equation of forces, the popular and realizing language for which is motion—the language of variation adapted to all the processes of life.

In the system as the underlying expression of motion we have the method, or law, for testing the organization of

knowledge in the region of mind. We seek first the diversity of mind ; to determine in the next instance if this diversity has its reality as a phase, or limit, of a common motion, the other phase, or limit, of which is a centralized expression—the common phase, or limit, balancing the diversity, being what they all together do. What the divisions of labor each do is, manifestly, the action of mind which we call the sense, or sensation. That is, hearing, seeing, smelling, tasting, touch, etc. These are the different organs, or phases of motion which make the limit we call the diversity of the mental action. And the thing which they all do, the division of labor or central limit of motion making the balance of mind, is manifestly the phenomenon we call Will : otherwise, the idea resulting from the relation, or action, of the senses. From this, we see that the idea on which we considerably act after our senses have come into relation, the phenomenon we call Will, is the centralized expression of the balance or equilibrium of mind, being the common measure of the mental motion.

Pursuant to our inquiry, the question presents how far the science of psychology has ordered its language upon this reality. How far does it regard the different senses as so many phases of motion in the system we call mind, the centralized expression for which is, technically, Will ? How far has psychology ordered itself upon the reality here and how far is it yet discussing things that this reality will put at rest as certainly as the centralized motion of the heavens, the Copernican system, put at rest the leading questions of Astronomy ? We find in this connection that Dr. James' long chapter on the Will,* is an analysis or report resulting in the conclusion that Will in none other than the impulse of idea. And this idea, according to Dr. James, is the idea which is not inhibited or supplanted by some other sense, or idea. This makes the idea on which we act the common expression of sense, or sensation, and hence the centralized limit of an equilibrium which is motion.

* (Psychology, James, Vol. II.)

We may ask ourselves on the other hand how far knowledge of the diverse, or sensation, side of psychology has arrived at the stage where, like Will, it can be passed over into terms of motion; that is, into equation of meaning with a centralized expression in mind. We may see in the opening chapters of James' Psychology, pp. 48-52, that meaning or idea comes from relating sensations, making the latter divisions of labor in the expression we call idea; that is, if all paths connecting the senses were cut, no one alone would have meaning; the sense of sight has no meaning without mind refers it or relates it to some other sense, as smell, hearing, taste, or touch.

The use that can be made of the rendering of mind as a whole of motion, or action. The sufficient test of any such analysis is its use as tool—what it will do in the economies of life. If it will set people's minds in order on questions they have been asking and are in unrest about, if it will give men reality in any sum, we can say that it will do that much. Every piece of reality, or related knowledge, is so much order, so much existence, in man. Man's life is the aggregate of his ordered experience, or contact. And since men's beliefs, erroneous or otherwise, are worked into their institutions, take shape in their actions, if the formula of motion for mind shall in any way economize or order man's beliefs, it will accomplish that much in institutional development. And if at any point men are seeking practical action in life as directed to the ordering of the mentality of others, as directed to the practice of psychology, and the formula shall apply here, it will be found of that much use.

To draw again an illustration from the solar system, we may say that the first great utility of the Copernican formula, or tool, the first great economy for a man who looks through it, is that he sees the heavens as a whole, sees a community of doing. And seeing it as a whole, using it that much, he instantly uses it further, uses it in the interpretation of all the phenomena of the heavens. He looks upon a star and knows that it is balanced in space as a part of a harmony, sustaining a

relation in the universe which is the part of an adjustment or balance, part of a larger action, in terms of the revolution or transit of its orbit. In this the reality has come to him that is the reality which is his own existence, being related knowledge, or contact—he has lived that much as of order. And likewise the first great economy which comes to man in looking upon mind under the formula of motion is the reality of sense which sees it as a whole of co-ordinate action. And, as with the tool of astronomy, he begins to use it in detail interpretation. Seeing the phenomenon of hearing, or sight, or smelling, etc., he no longer wonders or discusses in his mind as to *what it is of itself alone*, but sees it as a division of labor, or phase of motion, which is part in a larger whole, the other or completed phase of which is the sensation of the fuller idea, or made-up mind, which he knows is called Will. Neither does he see Will *as standing alone or apart* and discuss it as something of itself and different from sensation; he sees it as the *supreme or centralized sensation*, the completed revolution, completed change in mind—the phase of motion to which it belongs. And with a little reflection he is able to place most phenomena of mind about which he may have concern. The excuse for the thing is then seen to be what it does in practically realizing life. In a last reality, it is the great tool of the man of letters, who seeks to supply the popular demand for knowledge in this department of life.

We have thus viewed mind as a whole in an equilibrium of dual limits. We have seen that the reality, or principle, for the popular expression of this, its practical effect in life, is the language of motion. Having then become conscious of this language as compassing the expression for the whole in mind in its most general view, we seek to put the remaining, or more detailed, phenomena into the same language, knowing that then we read it with the principle of the whole, as movement. We thus pass to some detailed consideration of the phenomena of mind. In the first two instances we have to raise considerations which are always present in every phase.

These are the question of the integrity, or stability, of the movement; and the question of its emotion or disturbance.

The integrity of the movement is its integration. Integrity of mind, to use the every day phrase, means simply relation in sense. But relation in sense, when its meaning is understood, is the expression of sense in terms of its common doing. Relation is the way in which things go together to do some definite thing or form some definite idea. And this definite doing, or idea, expresses the relation. This involves first the distinctions called sense, and then their common meaning, or centralized expression. The relationship in mind is the systemized or synthesized sense. The illustrations which were used to exemplify the system may, when read as sense in mind and its central expression, very well come in here as applying to the integrity of the mental system. But we may go further in our illustrations.

Thus, the relation of a cork to a bottle is the *way* it fits or stoppers the bottle, what they together do—whether cork and bottle together hold fluids. Their relation, or *way* of common action, is a question of a water-tight union. Is the cork large enough, or regular enough, or is the bottle mouth small enough or regular enough to make the union, or joint? Their relation is a joint. This is the functional doing of the system called a bottle. Again, the relation of two points is a line between them, involving both direction and distance. The relation of three points is the figure they enclose, the triangle, involving area. The relation between an audience and the singer is what they both do in common, the song; it is the product of a division of labor between the audience and the singer—the hearer inspires, gives purpose or demand, and the singer does the technical factor of the song. The song is the relation between the singing throat and the hearing ear. We then judge of the degree of integrity in mind, the stability in sense, by referring it to the question of the relation, or joint expression, of the sense. We ask what a given mind is doing in terms of its sensa-

tions. If its sensations are a bottle and a cork, we ask if it relates them, if it apprehends their use? We ask in other words, whether it gains the centralized, or common, expression. Does a given mind see that these are for a water-tight joint? Does it so will, or relate sense? If the sensations or diversity of a certain mind are a broom and a floor, does it relate them, will them, in their joint expression, or balance—sweeping? Does a given mind apprehend the common purpose which brings a singer and an audience together? Does it, will, or integrate, these sensations? If so, in each case, then we say the mind considered is in stable movement. In this we reduce the movement to the popular phrase, “integrity of mind,” getting its practical effect. Integrity of the movement, as of relation, is “good sense,” simply. Professor James, on page 140 of his second volume, says, “Relation is a very slippery word.” He attempts to define it in some measure. But he can only do it, as he himself recognizes, in the particular case. He has no generic, or principle for it because he does not rise to the functional notion, the moving language.

We have, finally, to call to notice that the functional doing in mind, the idea of the common relation in sense, always carries in itself that absolute meaning which is its economic place or relation in the widest doing, the social system. Thus, the idea of a water-tight joints tends to reduce in meaning to a relationship in that wider whole or common doing of which all things are a part—the State. The latter is the universal unity or common expression, of which all things in life are the diversity. Similarly, the area in the figure we call a triangle, the common expression for certain diversity, tends to find its absolute meaning in a reduction to some use in the State. Again, in one view, the solar system as unified expression for certain diversity reduces to that absolute relation or economic doing which makes it a necessity of the State. Without the solar system, considered as the equilibrium of the solar bodies, there would be no life, and so no State. In seeking, therefore, the absolute meaning for any sys-

tem subordinate to the State, we reduce it to its economic or functional relation in life. But, of course, in general terms, what a thing is constitutes its economic relation to life. The stoppered bottle, the revolving earth, or the blade of grass, have their economic relation to life simply as what they are; as constituting certain phases of life, their relation to the Whole is in their very characteristics. But in seeking formally the absolute definition of anything, we refer it to its economic relation in the State, as its last reduction in sense.

Emotion is referable to a lapse in the relation of the sense, a lesion relative to the ordered consciousness, or Will; emotion is disturbed motion. We have seen that stability of the mental movement is the question of whether a given sense or experience is related to that equable common-sense which is rational experience in life. We ask the functional relation of things in terms of some doing which determines them as useful, determines them as the action of parts in terms of a centralized, or functional, office. Or, more simply, we ask what and why a thing is, the uses of life considered. This is why the new thing, for example, produces emotion in us—surprises us, disturbs us, as we say. We cannot determine it in its place in an ordered whole. A man who has never seen anything grow but the ordinary product of a temperate climate, might find emotional condition of mind under the sensation of seeing a cocoanut for the first time. He would not be able to relate it to the tree and the soil and cultivation, for instance, as the expression of these—what they do. He could not make it the expression of a system. He could not so co-ordinate it in mind. If a very ignorant man, his emotion might take the form of a worship of unseen and undefined powers. If not so ignorant, his emotion should be but momentary and relatively nil, as he would get his movement in attempt to adjust it to his experience, in general terms, at least. He would call up his experience and say that it is doubtless a vegetable product and as such grew under some climatic conditions different from his own; he would thus get its expression

in more general terms, but yet the reality as to the way of things, or principle of vegetation. So a man might be emotional in seeing water held in a bottle by a cork and the bottle turned upside down ; if it were the first time he had seen it, he would not be able at once to express the relation between the cork and the bottle—their joint. Explanation that was not essentially experience regarding this would be emotional. People have been thrown into emotion by an eclipse of the sun, not knowing or realizing that the shadow represented relation of two or more solar bodies. The sight of a man suffocated by gas might be an emotional sensation to a person ignorant of the relation between gas and the respiration, not seeing that de-oxidation was the relation of gas and the blood. Such a person might have the emotion we call superstition about ghostly presences, that is, ideas non-relating to a normal experience in mind. It is a common saying, recognized by all, that a man who acts on a single or non-related sensation is emotional : as the taking of strong likes or dislikes to people or things without considering why, and without getting the expression of relation to our experience, that is, relation between sensations. Such a person distorts things, it is said. In these cases we correct our emotion by correcting our mental relations, or facts, and find a liking for what we disliked. Or, we may find our dislike entirely a correct relation according to the facts of the case, when it should be said that our dislike passes to a rational expression and is no longer an emotion. We have attained to certitude of relationship.

We should fully realize that just as stability is in terms of the particular factors in mind that have the stable relation, so emotion is in terms of the particular factors in mind that have the disturbance, or lesion, in relation. To this purpose we may analyze the idea on which a man acts at a given juncture, showing the stable relation of his sensations on the one hand and the lesion of relation on the other hand. We will say that a man is an enthusiast with the camera and photography. On this particular day he has the sensation of the camera and the bright

sun—"a fine day for pictures." The functional relation of the bright day and the camera is the idea of taking a picture. If there is no other sensation to put into the balance of relation he may within the stable meaning of mind go out and take the picture, may act without emotion on the sensation he has. But suppose that he has another sensation to relate to these two, that of his day's work, mayhap, on which he depends for his living and the order of his whole existence. This cannot be put by. He must act in relation to it if he would act stably. The relation between his two sensations is, "day's-work-first-then-picture-at-five-this-afternoon." That is, the stable or functional relation of his sensations is, "work-first-and-picture-afterwards," not "picture-first-and-work-afterwards." If he acts on this latter, or non-functional relation of his sensations, he relates (non-relates) sense emotionally, and his action, rather his broken action, is emotional.

Thus we say the stability in mind is action in terms of the particular factors of the stable or related sense; and the emotion in mind is in terms of the broken or unrelated sense, in terms of the lesion of thought.

With this additional grasp of the language of the mental movement as a whole we may concern ourselves with translating into this language any mental phenomena that in usages or terms come to us.

Subject and Object, belong to the two main categories, the two prominent phases of mental action; they refer respectively to the diversity and unity of the movement. The subject as process is the developing relation in sense, the sensations in process of subjection to the functional relation, to the idea of the common doing, or common meaning. For instance, we have the sensations of the potato vine, the soil, the sun-heat, hoeing, etc. So far as we can relate them in a common doing, they become subjected to it as object. We see that the common doing, the relation, and so object, is the potato. The former, as separate and limited sensations, become subjected, or balanced, in the common meaning—the potato.

As end, it is the diverse, or unrelated sense become subject to will as unity of meaning, as object.

Spiritual, is referable to fuller existence, or meaning, and is a direct deduction of the notion of relation in mind. Will, as the completed or indivisible action, the related or objectified sense, is the spiritual. Or, again, the spiritual is any phase of complete relation in mind, involving finally the widest action. For instance, a pie as experience is spiritual if its parts and their compounding come within the meaning we call a good pie. In the larger relation, a good pie signifies the integrity of an organ or division of labor in the State. We see that the spiritual in its last reduction, like all absolute relation, involves the welling sense of the wider unity, democracy. Relative to the pie, the "over-soul" is the under-crust. So a tightly corked bottle as of man's experience is spiritual—it is so related or integrated that it has the integrity of economic doing in the State. The spiritual, in its least compass, is any related whole of action.

The Vulgar may be referred to the disconnected or emotional in mind, as lesion of sensation—the unspiritual—not possible of that absolute reduction of meaning which is economic action in democracy. Suppose one sees gold as something in itself in its money use, not regarding it in its function of exchange, not seeing money, for instance, as the record of exchange between shoes and bread. This is vulgarity of mind, like any disordered view. But to see money in its functional relations is its translation into the spiritual. The vulgarity of hoarding money except as clearly an instrument of conserving the State, and finally one's own best interest, is the same as the vulgarity that dissipates any instrument that may be functionally used, dissipation being distraction or distortion of function. And so for any experience. Such is the professor of economics who deliberately compromises his principle on a pretext. Or we see it in the busybody of "reform," distracting essential progress. Vulgarity is the partial, or restricted view, in action.

Meaning is referable to the extent and the integrity of the

movement. Meaning, in the language of motion, is, in the first place, the amount or diversity of the movement—the extent of relation that may be involved. This is true because diversity, or sensation as contact, is the material of mind. And in the second place, meaning is referable to the integrity or integration of the movement. This is true because it is only another way of saying that meaning has to do with the relation of sense. The meaningful, or intelligent, mind is the mobile mind, in the full sense of mobility, related experience.

Belief is mind in the attitude of action; the developed will. We have seen that the functional relation is the actual relation, that is, the action resulting or shaping from the related sense. And belief is the attitude of mind which sees the action already accomplished on the one hand, or on the other hand as possible, or in projection. A man acts in the former case by definite shaping to the accomplished or “actioned” thing; and in the latter case, by standing ready to do it as far as his own hand is a factor. We believe that this country is democratic in so far as we can experience the conditions that make up the action of it, that make equality. A man believes that an advance in democracy is possible, as expressing an organic relation between its parts, when he stands ready “to action,” or make real, such advance as far as his lights and position go. A man believes a bottle is stoppered water-tight if he is ready to fill the bottle with water and turn it upside down, should it be required. We believe the earth revolves if we act upon that belief, if we look for morning, for instance. All this is to say that a man does what he believes. Action is the test of belief.

Humor is the rapidity of the mental movement. This is referable to the quick or sharp definition of the mental relation. It is the concrete movement out of the unreal, affording the sharp comprehension making the definite limits of balance—the sharp movement out from the relatively unbalanced, or false, limits. Or, we may say it is the sharp movement, or change, from sense unrelated in experience to sense actual. Analysis of any

feature of humor will show this reality to be the underlying thing. It answers to the common saying, "How humorous that is when you get the reality." Take, as the first instance, the talk in some quarters about the impropriety of women riding the bicycle. All the talk leaves no clearly defined reason against the practice. The simple concrete, throwing the thing into quick relief, or balance, is the view that the critics object to a woman moving her legs up and down—that being the reduction of bicycle riding. People laugh because of the swift transition to truth. They realize a quick definiteness over against an indefiniteness. We may further the study in other examples. In crossing the backyard some of us have ducked our heads to avoid an imaginary clothesline. Putting the hand up and finding we were wrong, we say, "How humorous; I had the feeling that there was something there; I was so sure of it that I dodged." The humor or it is, that the real thing coming to mind there results the sharp contrast with the false or supposed thing. The sharp transition, or contrast, we call humor comes in our fuller knowledge, when we have attained to the real or definite, putting it over against the unreal. Again, take the well-known joke of the "funny" writer on the tough meat of the restaurant. The proprietor of an eating-house is found standing with a waiter examining a piece of meat suspected of being the worse for wear. It had done service in the place and been forked by customers in turn. The proprietor orders the meat back to the kitchen, saying, "It is getting bent." We find a humor because of the quick reality evolved out of this exaggeration, the itself unrelated thing. The old idea of toughness is gained in a bound out of unreality. If the "bent" meat was the reality, and not an exaggeration, we would have no sensation of humor because there would not be the leap into reality as out of the unreal thing—no flash into the concrete, or balance, in experience. Humor appears therefore as the fleet reality, the swift sense.

But hasn't humor long been interpreted as the sharp

contrast in sense, or mind? Yes. But so had the stars always been interpreted as having movement. The advance in each case is that they are interpreted according to a system, or uniform reading. Humor, though still interpreted as the sharp contrast is advanced to the notion of motion and as a phase of a unified rendering of mind.

Laughter is more commonly a phase of the expression of humor, and it may be either stable or emotional. Mind is constituted as consciousness through experience of its own action. What we know as consciousness is what mind is experiencing, what it is now doing. A certain adjustment of the nervous arc we recognize as the impulse to move the arm ; mind so acts, so manifests itself as consciousness. A certain other adjustment of the nervous arc we recognize as carrying the impulse to laugh ; mind so acts, so manifests itself. It is this manifestation in consciousness involving the sharp contrast of the unreal and the real together with the impulse to laugh that we recognize as humor. One adjustment of the nervous arc is as normal, as stable, as another. Laughter as expression of the impulse to laugh is as lawful as moving the arm. And we may have emotion in terms of the one experience just as in terms of the other. We may have emotion in mind which does not relate the action, or experience, of the moving arm with a level, or balanced, consciousness—the movement of the arm to put the hand in the fire, for instance, or to throw a brick through a window, or, its movement without basis in some idea or purpose. So we may have emotion in terms of laughter as phase of humor : this would be prolonged and uncontrolled laughter beyond reasonable limits, to the disturbance of those around us and our own unhinging of mental relations ; and, laughter without basis, not referable to the peculiar status of sense which we recognize as back of humor. Laughter in such unrelated aspect is thus the mark of an emotion as squared in its meaning by humor. The intenser action and freedom which embody humor beget a condition which for a time fails to repress immoderate expression, more

commonly stress of laughter, though it may be the running eye. This ebullition finds its parallel in any so-called physical action around us. A walking-beam or driving-wheel show play under momentum, and a ship or a building partakes of the ebullition arising from great play of force. All motion gives certain resonance or jar to its medium, but this is to be considered normal as of healthy or elastic movement, distinguished from the excess we recognize as wobble. Laughter short of such excess is to be classed with related action, as normal as tasting or seeing or the movement of the arm.

Pathos is referable to the extreme emotion which is the static mind, or in degree the retarded mind within the meaning of an impossible relation. We have seen that the underlying reality or the integrity of the movement is the impulse of image or sensation toward fulfilment, or complete circuit of balance. Any condition or state which is a retardation of this action may be said in so far to be a deflection of the movement. This deflection is, in the strictest terms of the mechanic, a reality of emotion. And stasis, or extreme emotion, is the relatively broken or impossible motion, a given unit of sensations or forces considered. Instance is found in any retarded condition of mind as stasis of image through inability to move to relationship. The mallet descended upon the head of the pleading heifer in the stocks when held alone in mind as the image of the failing eye or a stilled heart is recognized by all of us in the state of our own mind as pathos. But reset or advance this in the larger relation of the sense, see it as the action which is a part of a larger action in the State, the food of a people, and presently the pain or friction of pathos passes into a normal ease of meaning. We see it as the transformation of an existence, not its disappearance. The halting image has in this attained its motion. We thus come to regard pathos as resident in the weighted and moveless thought, in the static and isolated sense. Pathos is the lonesome image of mind.

The sob is a manifestation of the emotion which

is pathos, though pathos in its extremity may be such undoing of mind that it finds expression in great prostration—in the unwatered eye, the voiceless tongue, the blue hand. This prostration might go beyond pathos and reach total shock or unhinging of the mental mechanism, which would remove from it the power to again act at all. This extremity of condition being the completely broken and irrecoverable machine, passes out of the consideration of the functional action of mind.

Grief is a synonym of the stasis which is pathos in the more extreme degree. Grief, or sorrow, is clearly traceable to the isolated or unrelated image. For example, the image of a friend dead, gone, has its grief, or extreme pathos, in proportion as we are unable to modify it in some relating action, or movement. We say we will do as the lost would have us do, or that we will realize in life something that he strove for, or that we will recall him in his associations—and forthwith our grief lifts in compensating motion. In proportion to the relation of our image to life, or experience, we find our grief a receding thing. The comparison shows the reality of grief to be exactly pathos, though referable to its greater extremes.

Poetry is the ensemble of the mental movement. This means the assembling or continuous flow in consciousness of the fuller sweep of the movement, giving material meaning in any particular thing. It is the expression of the wider unity of life in terms of any particular; the putting into one view the procession of action. The simplest thing around us illustrates this.

We may have a poem in terms of the piece of coal going into our stove at this writing. This would be to gather up in a sweep as much incident as we may of the action represented by the coal. Accordingly, we recall to it the harvesting of the sun-heat in centuries of vegetation; the finger of an endless action wrote summer upon its leaves in the print of fern and palm; the ages of waters ground the mountains and laid upon the plant the bars of sediment. The shafts of the sun-heat in this coal

were loosed on the grates by the chemistry of Priestly's oxygen. It is transmuted, giving vapory feet to the piston of Watt. While we slept it turned the cylinder of Hoe, telling the story of a day. By the breath of the iron foot it brings corn from the valleys. By the breath of the iron fin it opens the pass of the sea. With hydrogen wing it climbs the vault of earth. The frost of the hearth is turned back at the door. From the coal-tar of the gas house the chemist has unlocked his chain of carbons, a link of which is attar of rose. More, we would not be able to enumerate anything in a world of dependencies that did not find translation into this concert of action.

The old discussion as to the relation of poetry and science finds its conclusion ; they are one in the sense that poetry and fact are one.

Love is the tenacity, or gravitation, of the mental movement as agreement. It is referable to the line of least resistance, and this is balance or movement. We "long" for a thing or "want" a thing, we action in relation to a thing, because that is the essential movement, or development, of mind. The thing that we "want" is, on final analysis, a relationship in mind ; we may regard a thing as most wanted when it answers to the intimacy of the movement—essential relationship. This agrees with the popular notion that has grown up about affection, that two people love when they see things the same way. That love may "grow cold" between two persons arises from the fact of an increased knowledge about each other which denies essential relationship in mind, denies oneness of view and desire in important things. Love may be warm though minor differences exist, but if the essential make-up of two people finds no kinship they can have no underlying ground of union in mind and so can have no mental harmony.

The stability and emotion of the movement as of love are referable to the related sense on the one hand and to its lesion on the other. If stable, we act in the better relation of the sense and in modulation of thought ; if emo-

tional, we give aloose to manifestations uncontrolled by more orderly experience. We may bring for analysis the mental action of a man who thinks of the face of his sweetheart or her other bodily presence. His sensations are of her presentment and of her absence from him. He relates these to the sensation of self, himself, in the idea of walking toward her. Hereupon another sensation may come up for relation to these. It is that of some insistent need like sawing wood for dinner, as against its neglect and disordering of a house. His better sense makes the relation, "saw-wood - and - go - to - sweetheart - later." Acting on this, not merely formulating it, is the stable mind—read clear through to belief, or action. But if the lover acts on the disturbed movement, or broken relation, "go-to-sweetheart-and-let-dinner-wait," he acts emotionally in terms of his absorbing sense, love. Or, again, if the relation of the lover's sense is to go at once to his sweetheart, and there rises no inhibiting or conflicting sensation, and still he does not go, does not act, being unable to give a sufficient reason for not going, he is emotional in that he has not carried his sense relation through to action; his mental movement has aborted, has fallen short of realization; his will has not attained fulfillment.

And, last, considering the import of the bodily sensations—the "bodily reflex"—we must see that they are the further meaning, or sense realization, of love. The fuller love is the traversing of the wider plane of experience relative to the object of love. We see our sweetheart, or visualize love; we hear our sweetheart, or auditize love; we touch our sweetheart, tactualizing love; we taste our sweetheart, kissualizing love; we have the abdominal reflex, visceralizing love, or, in the old phrase, our bowels speak of love; there is the depleted circulation and languor, to be "sick of love;" we experience the dry throat, the inactive gland, as the bitter-sweet of love; the heart starts and the carotid beats, the throb of love; our skin flushes, the glow of love; we have the moist eye, the tear of love; and so for all the various bodily experiences. We may take the notion of

order in the State as subjecting and controlling all the other experiences of affection and make it the centralized expression of the system love; and we make the bodily reflexes so much diversity of the system. But the notion of order in the State as subjecting the diversities of affection is expressed concretely and as immediate object, by the word love—if we define the latter as standing for interchange of contact through the full experiencing of a normal sweetheart, that is, a sweetheart sustaining normal relation to the State. Normal relation to the State, within the primary meaning, has to do with employment in some economic work. Other normal conditions or relations are dependent upon this. And from this as stable we may read the broken side of the bodily reflex, or experience, relative to the affection. Any of the sensations not subjected or related to the whole movement, or system, not subjected or related to the object love in terms of the State, the centralized expression of order, is emotional. The emotion is read as any particular eccentricity, excess, or overloading of action with reference to the order of society as the standard. It may be emotion as of excess in terms of kissing or what not. Or it may be emotion in terms of not-kissing, as a constraint or not-experience; an over-restrained action aiming at order might be as emotional or abnormal as excess indulgence in any one of the reflexes. The stable love is the whole round of experience in subjection to the central experience, or law of the State. Love counter to modulation in any of these experiences is in so far short of the full, or stable, love. Here, as in all generalizations we need to interpret not too strenuously, for otherwise we have frigidity instead of movement.

Hate is referable to the tenacity of the movement under restraint, as of unrelatable contact. Hate is the experience of mind working under imposed friction or bondage upon the mental action—the mind under impulse to cast out its own friction or disorder; it is the expression of inertia or reaction under resistance—the experience

of mind moving to overcome its lesion. The result of unlike contact is a mental friction and this is, obviously, the meaning of why people who in a superficial way have loved come afterwards to hate each other. If a mother loves her child through all the turmoil of an adverse relation it is because she finds, against everything else, an essential likeness or relation in the instinct which recognizes her own flesh. If she hates the disorder which the child may bring upon her mind it is more often in terms of some extraneous cause of her affliction which she sees as having worked change in her child. She hates the bar-keeper and faro-bank, as being the expression of the friction of her mind, not the child. That the mother does not hate the child is because of the superficiality of her analysis, is because she does not realize certain facts, or it may be because she knows something better of him that offsets all worse things. Or, she may overweeningly embody good in him. And the same is true of any love tenacious of its object through ungentle reverse.

The emotion in terms of hate, is when the various sensations, bodily reflex and other, are not so related in common sense that we act in moderation towards the object of hate. Reflection may show that the bar-keeper or the faro-bank are but indirectly agents of our sorrow. It may be our own fault; we did not give the boy or girl a trade, did not bring the child to its function in life. Or, wider yet, the fault may be the deficient organization of industry in the State. The bodily feelings of hate controlled, or related in moderate expression, are not emotion; it is the uncontrolled action, the immoderate expression of which these are factors, that is the emotion. Hate, it should be gathered, is of the stable momentum toward order, as of the impulse to out-root the disrupting sense; but unrestrained, run to excess, it is emotion.

Revenge is referable to emotion, as the unrelated impulse. This has to be distinguished from measures of self-protection. The infliction of harm upon one's fellows, other-

wise, could only react upon one's self; for on any rational concept of the State this man's interests profit me, in the long run. Revenge, or the impulse vitiating this, is a non-relation with experience, and so is emotional. Revenge may be seen as a corollary of the emotion of hate.

Motor is referable to agent of change of conditions, or change of unity. In general it is the new factor introduced into a given equilibrium of forces, making the change we call a new unit of forces. In psychology the motor or new factor inducing change of unity, or relation, is the new sensation in consciousness. It changes the unit of forces we call a thought, as of given related sensations, making a new thought, or adjustment of sense.

Memory is the readjustment of mind under the conditions of new experience. This is to say that memory is the readjustment of the movement, or system, under the conditions of new factors to the equilibrium—under new motor. Investigations of the psychologists are not able to show that we ever have consciousness of past experiences, that we ever have the chain of thought as memory, unless it is called up, or started, by some present, or new, experience.

Habit is the inertia of the mental movement. This is, in brief, the tendency of mind, or sensation, to remain as it is formed by its contact. This is only another way of saying that mind is constituted by its environment. But mind is as motion. Hence the tendency of mind, or sensation as motion, is to continue to move as conditioned, or constituted. But what is this motion, or constitution, of mind in its fundamental character? It is the movement of mind upon the line of the resultant of its contact, or on the line of the compound of its several sensations. This is to say that it moves upon the line, or direction, of its object as functional outcome of its sensations. Mind, for instance, is conditioned as sensation in a cold hand and a pair of gloves. The resultant, or object, of these and possibly other sensations is, "put-gloves-on." This in general is the primary action of mind—the movement upon the resultant sensation or ob-

ject. This is but another way of pointing out the movement of mind as the equilibrium of certain limits, or forces. It is a recurring hold upon that reality as essential specific form of the stable mental action. There also rises the reference to what mind is in the opposing main category, namely, the mental emotion. This is the disturbing influence upon the central movement by forces which affect it without entering into it as lending to resultant in accord with the chiefest issues of existence—making the failure of normal objective in life. It is apparent that inertia of the movement may develop on either of these lines. Mind may be conditioned as habit on the stable side and on the emotional side. One is normal habit; the other is abnormal.

The normal habit, or inertia, is the persistent stable movement. Its acquirement is popularly known as "development of the Will." This is the growth in the tendency of mind to move upon its normal resultant, or object. The inertia is established through conditions compelling mind to move through to its full object persistently. This, we have seen, is reaction upon the environment, or consistent self-action. It is the habit, or development, of holding to a purpose on essential lines. A man has the sensations of need of shelter and food, with the resultant sensation that they are normally acquired through employment of his powers. He sees labor as the object satisfying his contact, or sensations. Conditions of organization in the social requiring him to work out this object in a normal way, by the employment of his powers, he may be said in course to acquire the inertia of holding to his object as of the order or stable condition of mind. The popular view is exactly in line with this, namely, that a man born to severe or compelling conditions is in the end best fitted to handle affairs and meet the requirements of life. Such are said not to run away from their responsibilities. It is a popular way of saying that conditions compel us to the habit of objectifying in mind.

There may be all lesser or contributory degrees of the

stable habit. A man may objectify as order by regularity in hanging his hat on a certain peg ; he may always put his tool in the same rack ; he may regularly stand his boots in the same corner ; he may uniformly get up at a certain hour ; he may persistently hold to sobriety.

On the side of the habit of instability, or the inertia of emotion, we see it produced through lack of conditions that should drive men through to objective in life. In the chief aspect this is, of course, the lack of conditions compelling men to employ their powers methodically in gaining a living, or in division of labor with their fellows. Such are the persons with the "silver spoon," as people say. They do not have to follow closely the objective of a daily art, working to it at every point. Mind becomes so conditioned, as emotion ; the image of order easily aborts, turned aside by minor influences apart from and conflicting with the "have-to" of life. Such acquire the habit of emotion in the chief issues. Their excuses are too easy, it is said.

We have the minor examples of the unstable habit, or inertia. They represent failure to hold persistently to object, or order, in life. Men leave their hat upon the floor, spend their money without consideration of serious need, offend against other usual forms of regularity. They may drink immoderately, as careless of main purpose. They may give way to any form of dissipation and become fixed in such inertia of emotion. For, dissipation and all persistent form of fleeing the main call must be seen, not as objectifying but as emotional habit escaping stability. It is more properly the inertia of disease ; the habit of the evasion of life, or essential object.

It is to be noted in passing that normal or abnormal habit may be influenced by pedigree, as remoter conditioning of mind than the present.

Philosophy and Science read as mind are degrees of the technical practice of thought having their objects respectively in the wider and narrower generalizations of life. Philosophy as mental action subjects all diversity to the State as object of wider unity. The action is to ask whether a

thing is possible of general practice among men. This is to inquire the proper rule of a thing—its proper action as affects the State. For instance, we see a certain man drunk and learn that he may be found drunk at any time. The casual thought generalizes from this, but is comparatively narrow in such generalization. It may say that this action is bad because it will have its consequences in a headache, an unhappy family or loss of a job. Philosophy goes beyond this to the extreme limits of technical inquiry. It asks whether this can be made a general rule of practice—finding that it cannot, since it would be disruptive. It finds that it is opposed to the State as normal action, and must be dealt with as harmful to the general welfare. The full practical philosophy is to determine the ordering action involved as affects the State in specific wider consideration. The philosophy touching the habitual drunkard, carried through to practice, is thus the action, or way, of dealing with him in the best interests of the State. In some sections this has been worked out. He is regarded as an infant to be put in the keeping of an institution until he develops mental competency. The philosophy of a thing is thus the veritable action of it in its broadest reach. In short, philosophy is the action of a thing—meaning its fuller action making for order.

Science interpreted as mental action is that narrower generalization having its object in technical process affecting the State, but short of the latter as specific consideration. Such is medicine, for instance, in its relation to the drunken man. It thinks of the technical process having its object in sobering him up, or of otherwise ameliorating his disorder. The immediate object of science is thus the integrity of practice in its own field, but short of the State as specific object, or aim. Its inquiry is limited to its own field—as not specifically the whole of life. Like philosophy, it goes farther in its generalization than does the casual mind, but stops short of the lengths to which the former is carried. Science has its object in the Part, philosophy has its object in the Whole. Like philosophy, the science of a thing is its action—but within the

meaning of a more restricted ordering, or handling, short of specific considerations of fuller State polity.

In both philosophy and science the view involves considerations of the inner constitution, or working, of a thing as determining its nature as an object in itself. But the inquiry, or technical office, here is specifically the field of science; while philosophy, in its technical office, takes this knowledge in its outcome and determines it in the wider field. And this is the relation of philosophy to science, that the former begins where the latter leaves off. One is supplement to the other in the same line of action—State economy. For instance, medical science determines that a man to be cured of inebriety, or regulated regarding it, has to be restrained from use of intoxicants. This fact is delivered by science to philosophy and the latter uses it to determine the rule of the State regarding the drunkard. Or, the nature of the drunkard revealed by science, philosophy considers whether it is best for the State to restrain him—considers whether this conflicts with any principle of the social, or whether it clearly advances it. Or, we may say that science is permitted to go ahead with its action regulating the drunkard so long as politics, or philosophy, finds no fact against it. In other words, in final reduction, the drunkard becomes a regulative action or practice by the science medicine, the validity of which, in its wider reach, is determined by philosophy. In the same way railroading is a science, determining its own operative conditions, or rules, but as endorsed or verified by philosophy on lines of State polity. In the end, philosophy simply reports, or orders, science on political lines.

Logic is the practice of the absolute objective in mind—technically, it is mind exercising the tools, or generics, of thought in philosophy. In general, logic is the employment in mind of any principle, or way, as tool for reaching absolute objective. But absolute objective is the practice of the State. Hence, logic becomes technically the tools of philosophy as its generalizations applying to the different fields in their practical objective, the State.

For instance, philosophy seeks first the underlying principle, or method, of the State as objective whole. This principle is division of labor. Applying this fundamental tool at every point it works out the subordinate principles, or ways, which objectify as State the various fields of life. In raising its fundamental logic, or tool, philosophy asks specifically what the operative State is in its most general aspect. It is found to be division of labor between organs, as Classes. This means the free working of these organs as a whole and in their parts. In other words, it is an operative equality between the parts of the State, in all phases. Having gone on under this principle and added certain subordinate and specific generics, philosophy applies them in its practice to the Classes in their action, to determine whether these organs objectify in the State according to its operative construction, or being. We go to any field for illustration, say the Exchange Class. A specific tool, or logic, that determines the objectifying of this Class is found in the demand of the State upon it as a specific organ,—how does this Class essentially line with the State? Applying its first tool, philosophy finds that the underlying method of the Exchange Class is to promote ensured equality between Classes. Hence, the specific principle determining the absolute working, or object, of the Exchange Class is equality of trade through the practical registration. The applying of this principle to the specific Class is the practice of the absolute objective, or logic, by philosophy. The art fulfilling this generic, the practice of the art of registering the equality of exchange, is left to its proper branch of science, namely, the Exchange Class. But philosophy determines the validity of any practice in this field by asking whether it fits the controlling principles—equality of the State and equality of exchange. Further tool, or logic, for determining the working of the Class is the law of centralization. Another tool is the law, or generic, demanding check on the heads of service by the body of service. If there is anything in the practice of a Class affecting the State harmfully, such generics as apply will be used as tools to deter-

mine in so far the cause of the failure of the Class to objectify in the absolute, or as State economy. For instance, on the practical and tangible side, philosophy asks why one man is starving and another man living in riotous plenty. It applies any of the foregoing tools to any particular Class to determine if it is that Class which is at fault in its practice of objective. Applying its generics to Exchange, it finds that in the first place the latter is not working by the fundamental requirements of the State—equality of exchange. If it goes to Transportation it finds that Class violating the law of equality of carriage in the State, and so violating absolute objective. Again, seeking to trace these shortcomings, it applies to each of the Classes the law of centralization, as the tool determining efficiency and economy in organization. It finds the Classes deficient here, violating absolute objective. Continuing, it applies the law that the head must be controlled by the body of service. Putting this tool upon the Classes to discover the unity of their working within themselves and their alignment with the State as order, it finds marked lesion—the Classes are torn by warfare between body and head. Going on to use its tools, philosophy points out to psychology that the System embodies the law of organization in life, asking whether this law will not organize the mental phenomena as knowledge and reduce to practice, or science, the field of mind: it points out to psychology the method of its absolute objective. Thus the ills of the State are in such measure accounted for and the Classes are reported in certain lapses of objective. In this way, touching all fields, philosophy as technical mind aims at the practice of the full objective in life, naming its tools logic.

Morality is the mental order on the lines of the absolute order, or object, the State. The principle of action guiding us here is that we seek to promote our own order through promoting the Whole, or absolute order. In its controlling aspect, morality is thus some economic work, some business.

Cause and Effect are categories, or aspects, of the two main

phases of the movement—corresponding to Subject and Object, or Diversity and Unity. Cause as diversity does not exist outside of effect as unity, but is of its process as motion. In arriving at this it is considered that cause and effect as sensation must place somewhere in the one movement characteristic of mind. And effect is manifestly the culmination of a given unity of movement, which is to characterize it as unity itself. While, with relation to effect as unity, cause must necessarily place as the diversity, or material, of the unity, else cause and effect have no distinction, the movement considered.

The realization here is to consider the method of knowledge as one with, or as experience with, expression of the system as the present unity in life; and that the fuller extension of knowledge is the enlargement of the narrower system, or unity, with which we start. For instance, if we take the active piston as the expression of a certain balance or relationship coming out of the diversity which is the factors in the system called the steam engine, we see that we are unable to assign cause except to all the factors of the Is, or system, in their working relation, or unifying process; and we may only assign effect to the resulting unified expression—the active piston. We cannot assign cause to any one factor of the process. If we say that the steam makes the piston move, we have not included all the factors, or conditions; steam is but one of the several factors entering into and essential to the unity of limits we are considering. The steam is no more a factor than are the fire, the boiler, the cylinder, the balance-wheel, the eccentric, the governor. It takes all this diversity combined in a relationship to give the expression of the walking piston—the unified expression. Nor can we, so far as our experience takes us, go outside this system and assign any element as alone causing movement of the piston. Holding still to the same unity of expression, or effect, we can only enlarge the system centering in it, taking more factors into the diversity. And the larger system is subject to the same law of interpretation as the smaller system. If thus, on the

diversity side, we go farther than the limits of the system we have considered, we are bound to include all the factors of the larger limits. If we say that the sun, as factor in the larger system, causes the piston to move we have to include in the consideration all the items that condition the sun, the whole solar system. And if we go beyond the solar system, it is but to further enlarge the diversity side of the limits with which we started—and so on in mental projection as far as our experience carries us. In general, as method of knowledge in the aspect of cause and effect, we cannot get outside of the system, or experience, with which as the Now we start. We can but enlarge the diversity as material of the unity of such system. So that all cause and effect are one with our present experience with unity, the present Now—both in material and law.

The far-reaching significance of this is that we cannot conceive any phase, process or condition of life as a violation of the method of mind, the method by which we know. That is, we are not able to conceive the method of the universe, from which mind springs and of which it is a part, as a violation of the conditions of mental being or action. For such conceit would be to postulate antagonisms and annihilation in an integrate and interdependent whole: which also is to postulate something impossible in the experience of mind, since mind *is* as a counterpart or reflection of the conjoined life. Nor, in the more formal view, can we conceive the involving life as cause, or diversity in general, violating its own unity of expression, or effect, as mind—if we regard the latter as the lawful and culminating expression of all the processes of life. We cannot conceive any phase of action in an interdependent universe as violating its own law of being in some other part. And since mind has its method as motion, as one with the method of the universe, we more practically put it if we say that we cannot interpret life as a violation of the law of motion. All this means that we cannot look back upon yesterday or into the future and regard it as other than the method of to-day as exis-

ting unity. We cannot separate cause as past and effect as future from the present Is of life. It becomes impossible to postulate break in the process of being, whatever the direction in which we look. We can only postulate modulation, or change, as conditions of continuous movement. Otherwise, we postulate break in motion, which is equivalent to postulating cessation, past or future, in the practical unity—which is to postulate annihilation of all that we know, that is, the annihilation of the unity of to-day. And, again, we cannot postulate this without violating or denying the method of mind, as one with the present unity—what we know and all that we are. We cannot deny ourselves.

In one direction this is to postulate life without beginning; in the other direction, it is to postulate life without end. In other words, not being able to reason cessation in motion, or existence, no matter which way we look, we are obliged to content ourselves with existence. We find, simply, that we have no grounds for postulating a not-existence in any direction. Those who postulate beginning as of the past or ending as of the future, have as their first task to disprove the existence of the Now. Until then, we are compelled to think only in terms of continuous existence, as change, or motion. For, to recur, so far as we know the method of motion, or existence, it is continuous in every direction. To reason otherwise, is to violate the method of mind, or experience. We have either to postulate no existence in the Now, or else we have to postulate it as continuous, past and future—for that is the method of existence so far as we have experienced it. We can only say to ourselves that life, or the Is, changes from day to day, as in accord with the nature of life, namely, motion.

Space, considered as the expression of mind, is the mode of motion, or equilibrium. Professor James in the conclusion of his chapter on Space makes this summing up: "The education of our space perception consists largely of two processes—reducing the various sense-feelings to a common measure, and adding them together

into the single all-including space of the real world." The "sense-feeling" and the "common measure" of which Professor James speaks, and the "adding them together" is but another way of characterizing the limits which make the equilibrium, or motion, in mind. The "sense-feelings" are the diversities and the "common measure" is their centralized expression, and the "adding them together" is the resultant sensation of wholeness which belongs to the adequate expression of the system.

The ethic of the moving language in the region of mind rises in any order which its use brings to man. Mind and the conjoined life have each their order in a mutual reaction. One can only be spoken of in its implication of the other. An important factor in the realization of mind as order must be seen to be an adequate language for the expression of vexing questions in the region of the psychic phenomena. And the life external, as lending its order to men, must be shaped in its institutions through the knowledge of mental need. The whole question of the Church as the seat of moral dictum, for instance, and whether as such it is economic action in the State, the determination of its bondage or freedom for men, turns upon the mental analysis: Can man be subject to any other than natural law? Is not God manifest as life? And along with this there is the consideration of economic reduction in the much distractive writing about morals, touching man's nature and his truthful relation to life. If it can be seen that morality in man is the mental order, dependent upon its own law and the corresponding organization of the environment, the preaching of an apart truth, with its apart institutions and its waste, will find reduction. Truth for man is how to act in unison with his surroundings. Each rule of action in the conduct of affairs—as the rule of sixteen ounces to the pound, trains stop at red lights, the plumb of a brick wall, the resistance of a suspension cable, the rules of social organization—may be seen as the ordered truth.

To those who dwell in the waste places of mental dogma, it may be said that if God is manifest in mind it

will take care of itself. What most concerns us in the treatment of mind, as with any other force, is to so report it in its law of action as to give it its freedom. When it was known that the earth moved, it passed forever out of the wardship of ghosts; and when mind can be likewise known, it will be left to the guardianship of its own law. If mind moves it will take care of itself.

Last, the return from the crucible of the mental principle that there is no rational action in the fields of science, philosophy and logic, save as they objectify in the practice of the State, partakes of the most sweeping reduction toward fuller order in life and the accruing legacy of freedom.

The Chart of the mental movement is afforded by the double circle, answering to the dual character of the movement within circumscribed limits. The conjoined diameter of the two circles, the horizontal figure 8, may stand for the alignment, or integrity, of the movement. This would make the lever the reduction of the action, representing equilibrium. The fulcrum, or center of the line, the tangency of the two circles, may be conceived as the demarcation, or distinction, between diversity and will. The two arms of the lever are of equal length as balancing each other. The lever may be straight, or intact, for all phenomena that have alignment, or relationship—for all phenomena that make essentially rational thought. For the phenomena that are eccentric, or off the line of rational conclusion, off the straight thought, we have the bent or broken line; this may represent all phases of emotion, the lever being more broken according to the degree of emotion. The variation of the lever up and down from the horizontal may indicate the diversity. The lever integrate, or unbroken, reaching a position perpendicular to the horizontal would represent the widest diversity in unity—the most encompassing rationality. The disintegrate, or broken, lever reaching a position perpendicular to the horizontal would indicate the widest diversity devoid of unity—the extreme of emotion. On the left arm of the lever, as subject, we write down cer-

tain sensations or ideas which in their combination make a conclusion upon which we rationally act ; we write on the right end of the lever, as object, the rational conclusion, or idea, which stands for the combined action of the diverse sense, being the unity, or will. And the unbroken alignment of the two arms of the lever would show the agreement, or balance, between diversity and will, the unity of subject and object. On the other hand we may write on the broken arm of the lever all phases of emotion as of the unrelated sense and call it the upflaming self—as unsubordinated hate, immoderate love, uncontrolled jealousy, irrational notions of poetry, pathos, finance, etc.—these in all their phases and gradations make the picture of the irrational being, or thought.

CHAPTER VII

ETHIC : THE FREEDOM

There exists a demand in life by which man seeks to realize the consciousness of his freedom, or enlarged being. This in the end is to say that we ask to know that life does not restrict us in our full being. Such demand may be regarded as a specific field of inquiry or knowledge, placing as ethic. As of the business of explanation, it falls to the Intelligence Class—the organic News. The lack of an efficient formula for organizing and reducing this particular field has given rise to an amount of discursive and meaningless writing, loading the shelves of the libraries. Out of verbiage and perplexity in the pursuit of the truth, Letters has in the end emerged with the simple reduction, which compasses the demand in a few pages where there have been uncounted volumes. As tool supplying a second reduction for the report on the organic Letters, in economic relation to demand, the advance in ethic has to be here presented.

Ethic is the aspect of life as freedom through Commerce—or enlargement in the truth as life actual through organization. Commerce is exchange between organs in life. The very notion of fuller life is as interchange between the parts of a system. The muscle of the arm, as exchange by division of labor, procures food for all the parts of the animal body ; and the stomach exchanges the function of digestion. Similarly, the railroads contribute carriage of food, and the kitchen in turn exchanges cooking. The evolution in commerce has manifestly been in the direction of freed action in all the phases of life, of which mind is the culmination. And, regarding truth as the commercial relation in life, the organic relation, we say in respect to man that ethic is the freedom which is

the enlargement of mind in respect to truth. We say that ethic is the enlargement of man's action through truthful or ordered contact—the commerce actual expressing itself in mind. For instance, a man who has looked at a snow-flake through a truthful microscope, a division of labor in the State which is the contribution of optics, is in so far freed in his expression of life, has in so far extended his limits of mental action. And, furthering the view, we know that a microscope is an expression of man attained through other truthful commerce, the science of metallurgy as division of labor contributing the metal frame, for instance. In the end, the microscope is seen as the contribution of all organization. We sum it up in the saying, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free,"—meaning experience in the ordered, or commercial, life.

A free, or enlarged, mind is dependent upon contact with the ordered commerce ; and life external in its enlarged, or freed, expression is dependent upon mind. The truth of the first is apparent if we remember that mind is made up, in one view, of sensations produced by its contact ; and if these, the material of mind, are not made up of free action, mind cannot itself be free. Mind is bound as its contact is bound ; in the primary view it is what life is. A free mind waits upon a free environment. For instance, mind could not think, or will, the freedom of a railroad ride, as against walking, until such fact had become experience through external contact. Before it became actual, mind could no more think the freedom which is the overcoming of distance than a blind man could think the freedom, or enlarged experience, which is color. Our thought can be no more than our widest limits of contact. Again, if one of the sensations of mind is the idea of writing a letter to San Francisco and the further experience is that a letter cannot be carried there, that there is no agency in life for effecting this, then we say that mind is bound in terms of conditions of which it is an expression or reproduction ; is stopped in its outmovement, because its contact, or experience, is not

freed. Thought in terms of a constrained life is the bondage of mind.

And, in the second place, life as a whole is dependent for its ethic, or freedom, upon consciousness, or centralized intelligence. The snow-flake, for instance, as attaining enlarged expression in man's sense or consciousness, is seen to be freed, or extended, in the limits of its action. The object which affects sense in mind does more, has larger movement, than an object which does not affect sense. And in the other direction, life external gets its enlargement through the action of man's hand—the reaction of his mind in material construction or modification of life. Irrigation, as man's action, liberates a plain in its vegetation. Man mines the rock and transmutes it into iron and copper. Out of this material and other material new forms and movements arise. This enlargement of life reacts upon man. He frees his contact, injects his share of organization into life, that he himself may be free.

In the most general view, we see that the freedom of one part of life is the freedom of the other. Of two phases of life interdependent in their action, one cannot be conceived as free unless the other is. The most that can be said is that each is free to free itself—through action forwarded by the other. Mind is a reflex loop of its external conditions; and external conditions are a reflex loop of mind. The double reflex working its end, the whole movement makes the State as freedom, or organized life.

The proposition of organization for freedom is, therefore, the proposition for the organization of life as a whole, carrying the aspect of a division of labor between intelligence as mind in one distinction and mind external in the other—the elemental reduction of commerce. But these two distinctions of life as a whole, viewed in their working aspect, give us the State as the culminating organization. So that in its fullness we read ethic, or the organization for freedom, in terms of the highest development of life—democracy, the culminating com-

merce. And it becomes apparent that any phase of life has its ethical aspect in its reduction to economic doing in democracy.

In the joint action of mind and life external we discover the development of the various machines, or phases of organization in life, which make for freedom. A machine as organization is any way or process of life which is phase of the common action of mind and life external. In this view a tree is a machine by virtue of some purpose, or adaptation to life, which man determines in it. It may be for fruit or lumber or shade or for ornamentation. It becomes a machine when constituted, or appointed, by mind to some definite function, or place, in life. It is such through its adaptability having been passed upon by mind. The machine is in its last reduction a distinction in utility. The distinctions iron, type and paper are a machine when mind has determined them in the relation of accomplishing the printed page. They are then a printing machine. It follows that a machine is anything that man consciously uses for his good. A machine, in short, is any device of man to free himself. Life external to mind furnishes its part of the conditions, or ways, which make for organization; it is for man as a division of labor to be affected by these ways, to add to them the method of his own life, to reflect them in terms of his own action. And all the ways of life that are thus reflected are told in the varied inventions or discoveries. The enumeration of these, which are at once the commerce of life and so its ethic, have in their beginning the simplest labor saving device, and in their end the formulas of State—the machine inclusive of all others. Out of these million counts in the process of freedom, we name a shoemaker's wooden peg, the chemistry of oxygen, the tubular bridge, the air-brake, the calculus, the trial by jury, the ballot, or the latest enunciation of the organs of democracy—all being so many ways of organized life as effected through man's intelligence conjoined to his surroundings.

The notion ethic has as its meaning the want of man to

become conscious of his own freedom. The inquiry in life concerning the meaning of the individual, or the self, is this attempt of man to become aware of his scope. The study of the individual, in other words, is the attempt of man to find his limitations. It is story old as the speculation of man. But it could not be fully realized in thought until it was realized in the State. Man learned his limits as terms of his freedom when it became in degree actual in life as organization of commerce. Now, the limits of his freedom are seen to be not a bondage but the *way*, or instrument, of freedom. This *way* is seen to be division of labor—the principle upon which life organizes. Man gets his freedom by being at one with this law, that is, by fulfilling his existence as one with the mode of existence of all life. We now realize that man's release comes through his own action as part in organizing life. He gets enlargement through his work in the multiple discoveries and inventions, making the machines which are organs for the fuller expression of existence. The discovery of each new machine as device for added expression and movement is at once the *way* of man's freedom and his own knowledge of his freedom. Man is only limited by the *way* as *mode* of his own expression, or existence; so that the meaning of the individual is man's indivisible part in his own freedom. Man has to see his liberty in himself as efficient action, or indivisible organ, in democracy. He cannot divide this *way*, the seamless garment, without suffering impairment which is death—which is a curtailment of the individual.

Having arrived at the generic of this consciousness of the individual as freedom, thus considered, man may apply it to any circumstance and become cognizant of ethic, or freedom, in the particular. The method of the proceeding in this should be to take any contact in our life and ask how it makes us free through making free all life—the State. In other words, to get the ethic of anything, to become alive to our freedom in it, we ask ourselves what it does, what its help is to us in the econ-

omy of the State—the final measure being the efficiency and the labor-saving aspect of a thing. Thus, any phase of the ethic of the railroad answers to the question how does it make us free, how does it help us? One such phase of the ethic of the railroad is that we can go from New York to San Francisco in four days without the toilsome caravan of four months. We are that much enlarged, in our experience, that much given play in our action. Life is that much increased, has that much more of possibility. We may similarly take up any case. We may study any machinery of organization, and find that the seemingly most insignificant rises into the great process of law of universal being.

As the thing near to us we ask ourselves the ethic of this report which we have in hand. We inquire how it frees us, how it frees the State. In the first view of it, as the business of Letters, we are aware that it is a division of labor in the State which explains life in its relations as whole. This is to free our consciousness, or thought, in relation to life—the great freedom. In the same meaning, we remind ourselves that Letters is the business of truth-telling—truth meaning to relate, or place, facts. An untruth is simply a misplaced fact. Otherwise stated, in respect to the question here, we may say that an untruth is a disorganic report of things. To find a humerus of an animal thrown upon the field and to report it as thigh-bone would be to report it disorganically; and such a report would be unethical, being bound or limited by falsity and wide of the economic mark; such a report might create disordered conditions which would be the loss of a hundred days to a thousand men and so the loss of a hundred thousand days to the State and to ourselves as part of the State. Truth in Letters being the articulate reporting, the test as to the essential ethic of the report in hand is as to whether it grasps the organic view which tends to place articulate in life the experience of men. The reporter's intention, as such, has nothing to do with it; its ethic is a question of its absolute alignment with life; it is a question of results in truth to men. The author

is either false or true in his report ; he is either a liar or he is not. Men who use intention as a shield for falsity do not wish to accept responsibility for the disorder of their action. The ethic of "good intention" stands by itself ; it is that mind is in the attitude of truth or inquiry ; it is a category of action having its own ethic, or order. The truth of this report, as having its own particular ethic, is a question of how much it tends to order life and that in the absolute. In one view there is the enlarged or freed consciousness which it gives, the larger life. And, within the meaning of all that it does, its ethic is its business quality—its commerce with life. In so far as it is a traffic in function, a division of labor answering to the needs of men, in so far it is ethical. The ethic of letters is good business, the commercial attainment.

In this we come upon the meaning, in the formulation of an older Letters, of "the Way, the Truth, and the Life." The *Way* is the organic law, the principle which applies in any phase of the whole—the way in which any thing works, the method of the Is. The *Truth* is the application of the way, or generic to the particular case. That is, truth applied is truthful action, or action in accord with the ways of life as natural laws : in mechanics, it is making the cable fit the weight ; in Letters, it is the bringing of the law to consciousness in the specific case, being the explanation of things, the relating of facts according to the ways of action. The *Life*, seen through the cable, is the resulting advantage or betterment of existence ; seen through Letters, or explanation, it is the resulting advantage or betterment of existence had in related or enlarged knowledge ; in either case we live proportionately. Seeking the life as explanation, we go on reporting contact for ourselves, attaining to consciousness, and finding promotion in this by applying to the division of labor which is the News-Office when we have need to live more fully in directions we ourselves do not easily uncover. Seeking the life in other directions, we will employ all the fields of science.

The ethic of that machine, or device, which is the act of

giving a dime to a beggar. This at once raises for analysis the question of the whole charity concept as a rule of life. The permanence of the charity device must stand or fall on the inquiry as to its place in the organic State. The simple ethic of giving an indigent man a dime is that it is a species of ambulance brought into requisition until the afflicted State can come under medicine which improves its circulation—until it can come under the operation of the organic Exchange. The deformity of a starving man is our own deformity as contact. We give the dime as an alleviating measure in our experience, as modifying the disorder in our thought. We so far free ourselves, to turn at once to the legal remedy in some outleading thing making for organization: we turn to forward government ownership of railroads, as possibly a measure on which all men can unite; or we see some other apparently sure opening toward organization fitting our views; we stand ready to aid in any feature that seems evolving the way. The friction lessened, we can turn to the positive view of life, the believing view, and so freedom—the view which sees the disorder as process in the evolution of order. We are free if we can believe in the ways of life. This is to see the starving man as indicating points of friction, leading to the inquiry for corrective action in the State. And, we know that disorder has force in consciously realizing order as freedom. It is because we have experienced disorder at any time that we qualify our experience as conscious freedom. Disorder, in the organic relation, is realized as of the negative, the passing stage to order; it is the law of consciousness that we must traverse the negative to reach knowledge of our position—the full belief in life as freed expression. Mind realizing the disorder as the negative or passing stage to enlarged order, being conscious of life as a progression, or co-ordinative process, already has its movement and so is free. Hence the meaning of the old saying, having believed we are free, or are saved. We are free, are saved, if we can move mind, that is, get the consciousness of the positive

or organic relation in life—being experience as order, the Is, as Sight. With the organic relation in mind, the movement, the stasis which is unrealizing death passes into Life. The miracle of the dead come to life, or the blind touched with light must thus perpetually recur in the mutations of existence. The analysis, therefore, of the reality of mind in a specific act, as the giving of the dime, determines its final ethic. Was it given in the narrow limitation of a falsity which sees charity as continual place in democracy? Or was it given in the organic view which reduces all things to the freedom which is commerce?

Place the ethic of taking the life of the wounded bird. Simply that it is the more economic or commercial correction of a disorder. To apply man's technical skill to the repair of this wounded member of life, as a universal rule, would be to take that much skill and time away from the more essential action of the State. Some lover might require the attention which medicine is giving to the bird. In the surgical mending of the broken wing could lie the tragedy of a broken hope in man. In the view that it enlarges man's life, it is the trading of the lesser consciousness for the fuller consciousness. In the prolific animal life the broken wing is more economically corrected by allowing some other bird to live instead. In this view, we replace the broken wing with a new wing. And in all things the moulting feather lives again.

What is the ethic, or ordered action, of the machine we call a shoemaker's wooden peg? It is a division of labor for freeing all action, directly or indirectly, from the hampering experience of cold and wet. It frees you and me. It frees the shoemaker from the bondage of long labor and a restricted art, as against the use of inferior tools in making the shoe. More simply, its ethic is its efficiency—that it is good workmanship, good commerce.

What is the ethic of a carpenter's straight edge? Simply, that it is a straight edge; is what it claims to be in action; that it has truthful part in the economic working of the State. Or, in terms of the practical language, it is commer-

cial. A carpenter who uses it frees both himself and his fellows because he can do efficient work with it at the minimum expenditure of action.

What is the ethic of the machine, or device, which we term a Berkshire pig? That it functions in trade. It is fat and healthy and, if on the market, it is properly killed and dressed. It represents a department of labor furthering life.

Observe here how the commercial rendering in any particular presupposes its effect in the freedom of all life. For instance, a commercial pig may be read as freeing a horse through a well-fed man, because through man's freedom of action a horse may be properly housed and fed. And, in turn about, we see a fleet ambulance helping repair a fractured skull. Obviously, to whatever thing we can apply commerce, it presupposes the effect freedom clear through. Always, finally, a commercial thing may free the action of a good news-man, a good singer, a good cook, a good architect, and on.

Discovering the ethic of a cat warmed by the grate. In one aspect we feel that the cat, easeful by the fire, is at its organic level and at the point of least friction in its relations. We experience a certain ease that the cat is not trying to sing or to write books. The cat represents the opposite of much friction due to false or disordered place. We turn from turmoil to experience the cat as portion of truth. Looking upon it we see it as contented; and this is composed in our mind as so much order. The cat in fulfilling its place is a tempered hour. In the least, our contact with it is that much is gained to us. And there is history in the cat; its subtle stirring is a jungle. The cat is commercial in the view which sees it contributing any part of experience; and in the view of the closer experience that we call companionship, it gives us much in exchange. All else unsaid, the happy cat is happiness to us.

Defining the ethic of the machine, or device, which we call grace. Machine, or device, it may be recurred to, is any distinction in action which is co-ordinate with life.

Anything becomes a machine through being fully related to life, including mind and mind-external. It makes no difference whether the distinctive factor of the relation starts with mind or with life outside of mind ; it has in either case to be conditioned by both mind and matter, the result being the notion of device by man to free himself. Now, the machine called grace is the last touch, or distinction, in related action, the last degree of invention, or shaping. Grace is the perfection of doing, and is a specific contribution to freedom as final modulation, or art. The embodiment of grace is truthful action, as in any co-ordination. But we may make the distinction of a truthful doing that carries the harmony of a more perfect touch. Action might lack grace in the very fibre and finish of grace, truth ; but it might have truth in the rough, so to put it, yet not have the last degree of truth, or co-ordination. A singer might deliver the most exact note, as the saying goes, but possess some shortcoming that would not fit the sense of a last harmony ; in so far he could not grace his surroundings, the assembled action ; and action is never fully action except in the trade sense, in the sense of the moving demand. The voice of a singer would be graceful at other times than in the presence of an audience, for that is the perfection of the machine—the growth in grace. Again, a cook bakes good biscuits as the run of things goes, having a true-ness ; but there is another cook who has a touch in baking that we compose as the mellow of brown, a flavor that informs wish, a perfection of service. The former cook may lack a last finish, may be wasteful, or have other shortcoming ; in so far he is an ungraceful cook. The artist cook, overcoming all with an ease in adaptability, comes within the distinction grace. In another example we say that a tree is graceful or that a house is graceful, meaning that flow of a last modulation which we dispose as harmony. To apprehend a thing as graceful is to pass upon its adaptability to sense, which is to invent or discover its quality of action for man, making it device, or machine. And it is the machine grace because of its last

touch in quality of action, its perfection in recognized conditions, or device. To discern perfection of distinction in the shape of a tree is not different from discerning perfection of distinction in the taste or look of an omelette. Grace defines on last reduction as the mental expression, or enlargement. Again, "A soft answer turneth away wrath." Lincoln and Franklin had the adaptability to men and situations that won causes of State. This is a co-ordination with life which is grace. Grace, as the device which is added phase of truth, is the deliverance of men. Surely, by grace we are saved.

In reducing "grace" to the character of machine, it helps us take home the fact that there is no sacred or apart ethic, no sacred or apart freedom. The only sacred thing, the only freedom-making thing, is action itself, in its co-ordination. Doing perfect music, for instance, is neither more nor less ethical, or freeing, than doing perfect swine-growing. Ethic, it should be enforced, is, for man, the enlarging of the intelligence through contact, through any distinction of related action whatever. We could favorably compare the intelligence of the average farmer, maybe a breeder of high grade animals, with the fiddler in an orchestra or a writer of squibs. The farmer is an artist of his kind; and so the scavenger, who touches the blood with the refinement of air. Contact in any one phase of commerce carried out to its connections cannot be estimated as more or less "uplifting," enlarging, than contact in another phase, thoroughness of contact and natural endowment held as factors. It is co-ordinate action as efficient work, in any direction, that boots or "uplifts," whether it be the immediate agent or all of life which we see as affected.

Reducing to the notion of ethic the machine, or distinction of action, called morality. The ethic of morality, or the moral law, is that it is the machine, or device, for freedom which imposes upon one's self the acceptance of the universal law of life as action—being the consciousness of division of labor as the rule of life, that is, so far con-

scious of it as action as to be governed by it. This does not prescribe that one must formally state it to himself in these words. The generic, or way, of order may be acknowledged in submitting one's action to the rule or insight that to get good trade, or goods, from others one must perform in faithfulness his own occupation in life, must himself be exchangeable. Conversely, the man whose notion of order goes no farther than highway robbery, could hardly be said to be conscious of the *way* which is morality. He could not be said to be conscious of it as belief, or as Will—his own attitude of action. Morality is the device in life which believes that straight trade is the best policy ; but one does not *believe* this who does not act it ; belief is experience, and a man cannot experience action in its last reality unless he knows it in his own doing, either directly or relatively. The particulars and detail of morality, making for the practice of freedom, must be seen to involve all the phases of action which make the multiple situations of life.

Ethic in essential view is of course synonymous with morality, as it is with any contribution of action, or machine, that constitutes freedom. All action in the regulated sense presents one great machine of freedom, simply. But to so regard it merely would be essentially to prolate "God" or any other abstract word standing for being. We can only grasp life in its substance, or concrete, can only gain its content of meaning, by taking note of its phases ; we think, or realize, life in terms of its distinctions of action. This is to say that in thinking we grasp experience under limits, constituting the way of movement as balance in thought, or sense.

Poetry in its ethic. It is the enlargement of mind with respect to truth. We see it as the device of free expression which assembles the manifold of unity in consciousness. It furnishes mind in grasp of the flow of life. Anything put into the poem that is out of joint with life will be unethical, because untruth. If a so-called poem contains that which is contradictory to science or to saving action, any exaggerations of fact or waste in hamper-

ing forms, it is in so far monstrous, so far out of the plane of truthful existence.

The ethic of a photograph. The ethical interpretation of a picture or photograph, it may be seen, is as machine for freeing experience, and in the end life. The reality of a camera and the attendant division of labor is the common doing involved—the photograph. The reality or expression of a painter and the attendant division of labor is the picture. The ethic of the machine we call a picture or a camera, if the latter is understood as having its meaning in what it does, is that it is truthful—action co-ordinate with life. It must be a mastering picture. In such a picture, now common, we have the feeling that it is true; no error, or deformity, obtrudes in its reproduction of life. We can dwell in it with the feeling that it leaves nothing to be desired; and that is to free mind. Wanting the presentment of some person or thing, the friction is taken away if we get it; if our picture lacks, we still want and are slaves. If it is a false or imperfect picture, we are in the leash of an untruth. The good commerce of this picture, of this artist, is that much margin for man. Looking upon its sum of action, its procession in poetic movement, we pass in mindfulness the thousand devices of truthful doing that have contributed to it, and get the unfolding reality of commerce as ethic. A world's days of battle up through freedom are focussed in this picture.

Ethic of the sewing-machine. This freedom has an expression in shorter hours for the housewife and her release of movement. It means an arm with the town for the country-girl; and country for the town-girl. Helped by a growing Exchange and all device of freedom it means the translation of the narrow shops into the bloom of reach. It has its ethical meaning as factor in any dilation of contact which the movement of commerce may bring. In the story of Howe keeping vigil by the thread which bound the fingers of the human brain, until he saw it loosed in the shuttle, we have a romance of ethic which is the fascination and wonder of life itself.

The story is continued in the commercial agent who brought the quickened thread into the house by every seduction of tongue. An ethical lecture, in fact, of the formularity of life, is the speech of the commercial drummer imposing his wares. His is not that heresy of ethic which is an apart preaching in the lesion of life. While some Doctors of liberty have rambled of ethic during the throes of the birth of earth, the mechanic and the commercial agent have done that which the other but confused. We have the story of a commercial drummer in Michigan who many times put off by a farmer broke into his house when he was absent and left a "Singer." The farmer drew near and was coaxed by the women folks to let them try it. It was the burning bush. When in some days the agent came the farmer gave him a cow to lead away and kept the machine. There is endless romance of freedom in the bag of commerce. It is thus, in all ways, that ethic is met on the job.

The ethic of the conscious self as practice. We have already referred to the conscious individual in his general limitations as freedom, or expression. But we may here consider him more particularly in the view of the self as the art, or practice, of free being—the plans or rules which man makes for himself. Our very thesis has its meaning as the practice of the ethic of the self by the individual; for in considering the free action of all life we have had of necessity to consider the action of the individual. The question of the practical freedom of the individual is disposed of in the notion of acting co-ordinate with life—the only way one can act, in the fuller sense of action. The very concept of freedom is as action in equipoise with the immutable ways of things. This carries over Kant's dictum, that to act at all we have to act as though we are free; we have to presuppose freedom as inhering in action. And action is commercial. There is no freedom in the abstract, only freedom to act commercially, or in relation to the common conduct of life. We could very well let it go at

this, save that we may wish to become more fully aware of the individual as specific instrument, or device, of his own being, in rules applied to certain particular cases or situations.

It needs but few words to make us thus aware of the individual as devising his own ends. His primary device is seen in his striving to attain essential place among his fellows through doing something that they want, making the trade in life—the concrete law of his own being. That is, the way of his realization being particular action, we here define his practice as distinct place befitting action in the State; and we say that the primary law of his self-creation is to so act that he frames distinct place, or distinct individuality of doing, that he may have something to trade. And, ethically viewed, we seek to find the limitations which the State puts upon man as the conditions which the individual self-imposes for his own realization—so that he may preserve himself as distinct action, or individuality. The reality is contained in the general notion of conserving the self, or self-preservation, which is more commonly stated and understood in the phrase “looking out for one’s self.” Or again, the line of the practice of the self is comprehended in the general notion of selfishness, but which through narrowness of practice and view has passed into word of reproach. We may see that to become cognizant of the self as rule of practice is no more than to redeem the word selfishness from its disrepute, through adding to it a more comprehensive view of doing for one’s self, of working for the self interest. In short, the ethic of man as practice is to swell the notion of selfishness until it shall have more adequate or intelligent view of what promotes the individual spirit. And, being already aware through the development of our report that the freedom of life as culminating in man is made so through organization, we may see that the basic call of the individual is to promote all the various machines, or divisions of labor, that he may gain his own freedom, or efficiency of being, by their reaction upon him. Conversely,

the call of freedom is not to dominate or obstruct a world of action, which disorder but reacts upon the self. The practical ethic of man is not to defeat the instruments contributing to his own being, but to harmonize with them. His welfare is to promote the welfare of all, and he does this by acquiring some proficiency in an art, since all other labor may be said to depend upon his efficiency in his own. The primary condition of man as action is thus bound to be that he must himself develop his distinction in the State, with the self-interest, selfishness, as controlling view. One must say first that he will become an efficient shoemaker, or banker, or anything else to his liking. The further practice of the self as a shoemaker, for instance, is to say to one's self, always as action, "I must make these shoes as good as I can, and yet not spend too much time on them, so that a railroad man may have them to carry me or, in other particular, bring me meat and drink." The shoemaker will say further, "I have to make the shoes substantial and after the best model or otherwise they will in some way return upon me to my discomfiture and bondage. In one contingent, if I do not make good shoes, the railroad man who wears them will have excuse for slighting his work which will come upon me to my undoing." And, finally, he says, "If I do not do good work I fail to realize myself, fail to realize my own fullness of expression; I am only in degree better than a dead man." The shoemaker has in all ways to see the railroad man as phase of his own expression of last and awl, his trade of shoemaking. And it is for the shoemaker to see all other divisions of labor related, like the railroad business, to his own action. We realize that we free ourselves through freeing other phases of existence. We see that instead of being less selfish, as the popular phrase has it, we need to have larger views of the promotion of the self as one's own action. We seek to be more selfish, within the true meaning of the word.

We need to essay sufficient reference in the practice of

self-ishness to cover aspects which may not at once so readily present. Pursuing this, we go on to recognize that we cannot attain efficient development unless we have the *habit* of efficiency in our action, that is, attain to a constancy or completeness of practice.

And, attending here, we recognize an unusual compensation as freedom, or expression of being. In efficiency lies the love of life. The habit of fulfillment in our work engenders the attachment, or love of it; which is the expression of close association. It is without question that what we intimately associate with, at the point of ease, we love; that is, find it existent in our more intimate being. And in the consequent view, an efficient practice has its outcome in the wider love of all life, comprehending the notion of the love of fellow and the brotherhood of men. We do not need to commend ourselves to love our fellows; we need only to commend ourselves to the practice of our own well-being, in an efficient division of labor which, begetting the intimate association with life, has following in its train the psychic law of expression: the love of all things that move or breathe or have existence—things animate and things inanimate.

The reality of a "well-to-do" man, groomed and clothed, refusing to equalize conditions with his starving neighbors is that his selfishness is so narrow that he does not act to realize his neighbor in himself as freedom—his neighbor's order, or freedom, being his own. The starving neighbor is expressed in the so-called well-to-do man's mind as of the disorder of life, and the latter cannot ethic save as he moves to equalize conditions. The man who would get ethic, or freedom, out of his sensations relative to the starving man must move upon the ordering method. He may first contribute his dole to soften the acuteness of conditions reacting upon himself; and next he has to relate himself to some device for advancing organization which shall make for order and freedom in the State, and for order and freedom in his own mind as one with this order.

Again, an unethic of a man who, needing money, will

not allow his neighbor to give or lend to him is that he cannot in his own mind experience the freedom of his neighbor which depends upon the latter being able to help conditions about him. The story is related of a man who, in the narrow selfishness, liked better to give than to receive. He found himself without car-fare at the home of a friend to whom he had at times given small helps ; when it afterwards came out that his mind was to walk home rather than receive the five cents for the street car, his friend, with sweep of view, charged him with lameness of reciprocity, saying, " You help me, but you are not so great that you allow me the freedom of helping you."

We may find another case, not altogether clear, referring to the self-guarding of the individual against exhaustion through overwork or overwear, guarding against impairment of the individual as efficient instrument of itself. A man tempted of interest to overwork or to submit to extraordinary exactions upon himself through his connection with life has in the primary ethical view to throw himself upon the *Is* of his own being. This in its extreme would refer to the so-called heroism in action in great emergencies. It is for the individual to decide whether he will attain the expression of his *Is* as experience in one supreme act of freedom, or, whether he will gain more expression, or freedom, by allowing the opportunity for a great action to pass and find his life expression in an experience modified by that condition of mind which remembers a pass in the affairs of men which was lost because he failed as saving factor. An engineer who at some juncture sacrifices a train-load of people instead of his own life must live in the memory, or curtailment, of this failure of his own expression in opportunity of freedom. He must forever after live in the slavery of mental conditions which have their bonds in his failure to equate life. The slaves of a lost opportunity have chosen thus to circumscribe their existence. Such freedom as they may afterward gain must be in their own working out of the remainder. The poor in spirit, poor in the expression of opportunity in life, have no recourse in the past.

But for most there is a practical view in the every-day practice of the preservation of the self in which we do not find the necessity of realizing freedom in one burst of life. In an every-day practice, as of a locomotive engineer, one may find it more ethical not to sit up with a sick man at night to his own exhaustion and impairment of the service of his arm and his waking eye. He is not in ethic called upon to do a service of heroic attendance at the bedside. His heroism will be in the resistance of temptation to sit up with a sick man and to remember that he needs his reserve power for the mail train. The heroic ethic for him is: "*No. 54 on time.*" The unethical experience of the impairment of one's resource of power in service, through consenting to do too much, is more tragically illustrated in the case of a noted London accoucheur, who yielded to the solicitation to attend another case when he had persisted at the bedside for hours beyond his better endurance. He went to the last case more asleep than awake, far benumbed in his alertness. The result was a horrible mutilation of his patient which shocked the profession of medicine and a people. There are lesser degrees of the ethical consideration which have at base the preservation of the daily *Is*, the conditions of which every one is called upon to balance. There are times when we very ethically pass the beggar by upon the street as not claiming our attention in that particular, or when we have to refuse a minor call of service or a kindly attention to our fellows.

A final reality which we may have in the view of the practice of the self is that it is a division of labor among men in the conscious attention to order. We can take hold on this from the converse side, by seeing how people fail in it. And we can see that advance here is helped by the growth in the general condition of order in the State, the closer organization. Recently in a flat in the city of New York the domestic suffered from a hollow tooth. The family were peculiarly dependent upon her, owing to the closeness of their occupation in affairs, and they were more or less disordered by direct contact with her

suffering. They plied her to have the tooth filled or extracted. She resisted all advice, through fear of the dentist's chair, and because of the expense involved. She found it would cost her three months' wages to have her teeth put right. After half and quarter-time work for several weeks the tooth ulcerated and the inflammation attacked the jaw. The young woman left her service with a face swollen, a spectacle of sympathy. Her husband was a cook on the Atlantic liner "Paris." Being on shore, he became alarmed at her condition and forwent his trip, to lose his job and disorder for the time being the kitchen of the boat. The flat was disrupted for weeks in a succession of poor help. The girl took treatment and is scarred, having undergone an operation at the clinic. The bondage put upon others and upon herself by this disheveled doing gives a peculiarly forcible illustration of how ethic is a division of labor in conscious attention to order. One person has to ethic more, has to right more disorder, in proportion as another fails in this.

With advance of organization in the State the people in the flat would have been in less measure dependent upon the service of the girl, and would have been promptly supplied with substitute service. And the organization of the Domestic labor would have compelled the suffering girl to her ethic. She would have been obliged to conform to the conditions of her service and have kept herself in repair as an efficient machine. The intelligent movement of a centralized organization would supply her deficiency. Her head of service would bring her to consciousness of the need of division of labor in attention to order; these things would be called out and enforced upon the indifferent mind.

Again, a person having much writing to do will leave a stopper out of an ink bottle. The ink becomes thick, and at the time when some important writing has to go forward the bottle must be cleaned and replenished, with delay and worry. And this clear failure to practice the freedom of the self by a little forethought or con-

sciousness in the means of order, must carry a bondage beyond that of the immediate individual, reaching to those nearest and to all in any degree concerned. We have a like example in a person who failed to write down an address for future reference. When the need came to use it the neglect necessitated a telegram and a wait.

And, we fail through meanly unloading our portion upon others, because of their patience, and because they appear willing. The one who can't let things go a-loose has to take upon himself the burden of attention to order for another. What a weak and narrow selfishness lays down the stronger and broader takes up. A person will use a tool and leave it out of place. Another person, with the instinct of freedom as of ordered expression, sees it and replaces it. And this unethical neglect of a daily trifle, multiplied in all directions, is to be recognized, with the preceding incidents, as of the slackness of division of labor in the practice of individuality, the loss of a melody in the organization of the self and the universal order.

We come finally to a distinction in the practice of the individual that has separated the schools. This is the distinction of objective in the self—the question whether the object of the self is happiness or something else. The discussion arose through the unreality of dividing the self as action. Happiness considered as something apart in mind and distinct from the sensation of ordered action, created a lesion in the brain. The discussion has been the attempt to bridge the lesion, that is, to find the unity, or the one object of life. Happiness of the self seen as one with being as free or ordered expression, the discussion falls utterly. The sum of the reality of the individual is to be an individual as related action—to be a whole individual, to be a man. And the object of self is this ordered whole of action—not any distinction as partial phase of this, but rather the culminating phase, as full or free expression of being. The individual *is* as ordered action. And if true happiness is to occupy any

place in this action it must be either as one with some incomplete phase or else one with the unrealized, or developed, phase. Certain it is that happiness is one with the latter, one with the fuller experience of the self. This is to find happiness one with expression of the self, as art, or division of labor in the State—the full object, or selfness, of the individual. Hence the old view that one has to be *wholly* (“holy”) to be happy ; the divided, or partial, life cannot be conceived as the import of happiness—the sonnet of the harmony of being.

Finally, we should spare a reference to the worn words in the practice of the self, such as culture, duty, refinement. We may, like happiness, compass all such in the notion of the wholeness of the individual as action. We may see *duty* as do-ty, meaning completeness, or faithfulness, of doing. It is the exaction laid upon the individual to *do* the self if he would be, in any part of being. *Culture*, is to cultivate the whole of life in the self through cultivating any one particular upon which the whole depends and with which it embraces—it is to cultivate an economic trade. *Refinement*, is to define ourselves by action so that we co-ordinate with life. It is of the crucible of action, and is found residual as the economic life—not the palpable ash of an indifferent being. Refinement, is to return life in related action through some efficient daily handiwork. This, as all these, is to possess the soul of Commerce.

In supplying customers in the ethic line at the Inquiry Bureau of the News Office, resort has been had to exhibits taken from life. Some of these are here shown as throwing the subject into fuller relief.

PARCEL 1. CHILD'S SHOES

These shoes—thin, and leaving the feet—belonged to a fisherman's child on Hempstead Bay, Long Island. They represent the disordered, or unethical, exchange—phase of the unethical State. In the fall of '96 the fa-

ther caught cod and sold them, indirectly, to the New York dealers at half-a-cent a pound, a portion of this being eaten up in carriage. They were hauled by wagon to New York, twenty-five miles, to obviate railroad charges. The New York dealer sold the fish for eight and ten cents a pound. The child walked a mile through snow-slush to school with these shoes and sat with wet feet through the day. The sight so weighted a local merchant's mental action, so bound his expression relative to order, that he furnished the child with a pair of heavy shoes, and she went dry to school. We have to see that the action of giving the shoes is reducible in its reality to the giver's own mind—he moved to get freed expression through contact. To do this, he had in so far to order life. This affords a single example of the practice of the self as freedom,—taking things as we meet them. It is a case of self-preservation. The further practice of freedom as related to this particular is to seek to aid some outlet in organization going to regulate all such cases through the wider field.

PARCEL 2. EGG-BEATER

This egg-beater has its story of ethic. A while ago a farmer's child, nine years old, was a caller in a kitchen and saw the device used to beat an egg. She expressed surprise, having never before seen an egg conquered so easily. Up to this moment she had been bound in mind by the laborious process. The new experience in so far freed her expression of life. The ethic of the cook was, that through contact with the child he experienced her release of movement. He experienced the freedom of the child's expression of freedom.

PARCEL 3. MUNNIE

The brooks that run to the sea around New York are often dammed for fish and ice ponds. At the foot of such a dam the "munnie" minnows blackened the water. The wall had stopped them in their progress up the stream away from the salt-wash. Whenever the tide

drove they huddled against their bars. The writer lifted them over by pailfuls with a crab-scoop. His mind swam free when they darted into the deep water beyond. His freedom was in proportion as he experienced freedom in the actual, by whatever agency.

PARCEL 4. BURNT MATCH

A business man in Mercer Street throws the waste of his match into some receptacle that cannot ignite. He does this, though he is careful to extinguish the last spark. If he throws the stub into some common receptacle, where there may be paper or other combustible, there lingers a dread that the match may not be entirely out. And there is the fear that should he accustom himself to throwing the burnt ends into any indifferent place he will some time, through hurry or forgetfulness, drop an unextinguished match into harm. His freedom is the practice of the surety of order, through to habit.

PARCEL 5. PEDDLER

An Italian hangs at the door with wares that the householder can not use and does not want. The cowed face reflects the degradation of failures and rebuffs in disjointed place, through the disordered distribution. The failure of this individual's realization of life is our own. It infracts and binds our thought. The vendor presiding at a counter in the department store, organically regulated, with the instinct of place presents his wares when requested. He is the ordered medium of the favors of commerce. The customer takes or leaves. Neither seller nor buyer are more embittered or degraded, more enslaved, than seller and buyer at the post-office window.

PARCEL 6. GARDENER

The Merrick road is the south macadam artery of Long Island. The gardener's white, canvas-covered loads, in bulk a load of hay, turn into this artery for fifty miles leading up to New York. When the city is near, the wagons grown to a procession. There are two things in it

that thwart the mind. One is that the Long Island Railroad trains go by every half-hour or hour, only about one-fourth loaded. The road is perfectly level. The trains draw three or four cars on an average; they could draw sixteen at the same speed. Hook on half these additional cars and they would move the wagons to the city in an hour, where the gardener and his fagged horses take most of the day or night. With a farmer's club-stable at New York, the wagons could be run on to flat cars at each station and pulled off at the city. Or, with more organic conditions, the cars would be loaded at the gardens by spur switches at convenient points, and unloaded at New York direct to the grocer's or distributor's wagons. The other thing is that the gardeners are not merchants, or distributors, by instinct or conditions; they are gardeners. They work into the last of the day loading their product, making it, in their best, fitted to the market. There the exaction on them could end. But, instead, the discomfitting part begins. In addition to lack of sleep, they carry on the ride to town the worry of whether they can meet a successful trip. Men struggling for life come to defeat them in bargains. It is a fight to make sale. Often they return to a tired home without recovering the expenses of the load. These two aspects of a bondage, impinging on us all, can only be improved, in the former case, through advance in the organic transportation, and, in the latter case, through advance in the organic distribution:—and, can only be finally corrected through the organic exchange and its attendant wider adjustments.

PARCEL 7. A CHROMO

This print is of the gaudy or cheap prize pictures, advertisements, madonna heads and "ideals," inaccurate newspaper and school-book illustrations, and every picture untrue to life. A child, or any one, meeting it, as of so much unreality, is influenced to unbelief in life, leaning to the chronic. Each association with unreality, or disorder, has its restriction of truth and a tendency to un-

belief in all things, inclining to become habitual because of the mental inertia. Briefly, unbelief is mental unreality, or deficiency in truth—which is mind conditioned by disorder, either in contact or self-action. Formally, this is mind devoid of projection, or object, in real action, or not shaped on real action. Lessened bondage here must be in proportion to advance on the side of illustration. As fast as the truthful skill can control, through growth in organization, must reality develop on these lines, and the freedom come in.

PARCEL 8. SONG

A singer coming into the reality of life as commerce wished to gain the assurance that he had his part in it—wished to find that he was free, or existent, in commercial expression. He was sensitive that if he had nothing to trade with his fellows he was devoid of expression in the life sense. He wanted testimony that he had that part in action which embraced brotherhood. He applied at the News Office for the estimate of his own reality as a man, seeking at the counter of Letters a freedom in the appraisal of his own individuality. The singer wished to be told that his was a division of labor. The reply to him was the parable of a man felled by the wayside. When asked what he had suffered, he told that in his going he had met advices that song was blotted out. The cure for this bruised of mind was in the revised dispatches, that another singer had been born.

PARCEL 9. SALVATION

Customers at the counter of Letters ask how one can practically acquire the freedom comprehended in thinking of life as immortal. The reply is: By some action promoting freedom in the life eternal, that is, in the life of to-day regarded as unrestricted, or continuous. It is here postulated that there is only one life, and that is all life. Any free existence belongs to, is part of, this fuller life. If we affect life injuriously, that is, affect the fuller life in ways the opposite of free, or truthful, we

cannot think of ourselves as of the fuller existence. It is to conceive ourselves as dying, as mortal. The tendency of all life is constantly to put off the untruthful; this is the meaning of growth, repair, progress, etc. So that, we can only think of our immortality by thinking of our action as free to-day;—and if our action is not free, or truthful, we cannot think of it as such.

PARCEL 10. DEPRAVITY: DEATH

This is a typesetter in New York, one of many thousands the country over. The evolving growth in the new machinery has left him without adequate expression, or being—the great deprivation, depravity, death. The State is not organized for ready adjustment of the new. Men are left unequalized in conditions. This printer may go days or months without work. He may have work for a day or a month and then be adrift on a round of refusal in the search for something to do. Here is a frightful degradation and death in the prolonged lack of daily realization of one's art, or essential life. As affecting our lives, his portion of inequality, or deprived experience, is ours. We cannot put it away. If we tentatively put it away, or out of mind, in that much we cannot experience life in this man; relative to him, we are still enslaved, dead. The employer who refuses this man his life, or freedom in expression, is no more than an agency of the social. It is thus to the social organization that this dead man applies for life in its equation. It is the social that denies him; and in denying him, it denies all men, in that they relate to him. And if we are all of us a part of the social, it is our own denial to this man, and, in the outcome, to ourselves—our denial, finally, of our own life. Under advance organization, machinery goes to reduce the number of hours' work for each person alike, or it adds to each equally the benefits of improved service. Reduction of hours' work need not react to the disadvantage of any man; no one need be deprived in his share of what remains or accrues. Our forwarding of the organism gives the mobile condi-

tions which make for adjustment and denies to no man his equable share of life, as economic expression in some calling.

PARCEL 11. THE LIFE UNENDING

Those who find a restriction of thought in regarding any phase of life as dying, or ending, have come to ask the question, why postulate death? Why not postulate change instead, or the Now as motion? We know that all things are changing, but can we postulate death, or ending? We know that the life of yesterday lives and is conscious in us to-day. And we can see no possible postulate for the life of to-morrow save that it is conditioned in its existence by the life of the present. Which is to say that we know nothing but the moving Now. So that, as far as we can propose, the life of to-day lives in the life of to-morrow—the consciousness of to-day in the consciousness of to-morrow. But what this consciousness of to-morrow is, as the moving to-day, we cannot know beyond the present movement; cannot know, without dying, or ending our existence: for to know all futurity is to have no futurity—is to live only this span and die. Those, therefore, who would be free, or immortal, can seek realization of the present, reserving to-morrow for continued being.

As corollary of this, can we postulate a continuous consciousness, namely, that the I of the present will be the same I to-morrow, as the I of yesterday is the same I to-day? But can I say that I am the same I to-day that I was yesterday? Is not this to deny change, or movement? I cannot say that I am the I of yesterday, but the I changed or modified to the Now. As to the future, I can only propose the movement of to-day, namely, that to-morrow will exist, as relates to me, of an I, or consciousness, modified from the present: this is to postulate no restriction, simply, on the existing movement. This is the most that I can postulate, for to reason the consciousness of to-morrow, making it objective, is to propose that we now experience to-mor-

row—which is to deny the latter, making all to-day. It is the denial of conscious life, since such life has its existence in movement, or, in the unpostulated to-morrow. We objectify the future in the Possible—the Now. In other words, when the final objective in consciousness is determined, that being the logic of postulating objective beyond the present life, there can be no further movement as consciousness. Thus, I can only postulate the I of to-morrow as change, or continuous to-day, that is, the present not restricted—which gives me the freedom of movement that reserves new experience. Thus, the formal method of my life as continuous movement, the fuller existence of the I, is stated as the postulate in consciousness only of the objective to-day, which, of course, includes yesterday, or all existing movement. The I, as of the individual conscious movement, is thus stated to have continuity so far as we know. We have no experience contradicting this.

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We here find ourselves freed as to the fuller meaning of the Hebrew letters, that to look upon God is to die. That is, organically interpreted, to look upon all life to-day is cessation of being.

We here likewise find the reality of the saying, “the inscrutable God.” God cannot be known beyond existing movement, as manifest in the Is, or Now. To postulate knowledge of God beyond the moving to-day, is to postulate the negation of the Infinite, is to propose the death of God himself. For, the Infinite exists only as the unqualified to-day. And since God as final Cause can only be comprehended in a total of the particulars in all futurity—cause being one with the expression of unity or final effect—to postulate God as final Cause is to postulate negation of his existence. This is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the present abstractions on these subjects. We cannot postulate a contradiction. We gain a resulting ethic through being freed from involvement in such abstractions. Our thought is no longer entangled and held by them. That we may be free, we are con-

strained not to rest our thought upon such subjects at all.

But what have we left? We have life left, and God as life. We turn our thoughts constantly upon life that we may possess God and live him and eternity in its Now—the immortal freedom. Evidently, the great sacrilege, or disorder, is the “getting ready for a future life.” We replace it by the consonance of *living* the future in the moving time—not half living. The great “getting ready” is for the exigencies of the Now. And thus, the Coming, the daily evolution, finds us watchful in action. Can we do other than this and be right-eous?

PARCEL 12. FAITH

Faith is the possession of life as ordered action. We have this life through any ordered contact. In the full import, the possession of ordered life is to have place in it as of its process. We possess life the more if it is operative in us through our own doing in ordered relations. And, attendantly, faith in the Infinite is the possession of the Infinite as embodying life. Separation of God and Beatitude from the Now is the great lesion of mind, or fact, relative to life in its wholeness; and this is the great lesion or impairment of faith in God, the All-being. We are undone in the remoteness of God created by this apartness. The church has tried to repair the lesion by an emotional phrase—that the Almighty is near. The more we possess life as positive, as objective of order, the more we believe. Men of action are profound believers. This is to recall our finding that belief is mind in the attitude of action. The false man, the one who acts unfaithful to life as order, is notoriously not a believer in the right-eous day. If one acts disorder, the tricky man, it is the state of his own mind, which is falsity. We see men turning in unfaith away from life in its disorder, not having the positive, or ordering, grasp. Their unbelief is clearly their state of mind as disorder in contact. It is emotion. A railroad disaster engenders a condition recognizable by us as unbelief in life. We believe again, after the lapse, by seeing

that with more organization we need not have railroad accidents, that is, they would be reduced to the minimum. And "death," which at first comes to us as disruption, we may revise into faith, the great order of change, or movement. We submit and turn to faith any have-to, as the tornado or earthquake, explicable as incident of a great order and which is not of our own making. We are affected much in unbelief by the disorder which we cannot explain as unavoidable, or as a part of life, and which constantly impinges. That is, we are so affected until we get the ordering view. We are given unbelief when we encounter in thought the starving man. If we see the ordered Exchange correcting this, ourselves moving to aid it, we believe. Of the better contact, we see a house of inviting shape, order speaking in it, or, we know a prosperous and contented family. We are affected by these in the state of our mind as belief, so far as we do not impair the view with the starving man, the hovel, or other lesion. A train comes in on time, a man deals justly by us, gravitation eternally proves itself; in consequence, we believe. Bearing upon the one reality, we see the emotional supplication in "prayer" as the state of mind seeking belief, which is to say, seeking to possess the life as order actual. The church has its more earnest following in times of great trial and disaster in the State. It became fervidly prayerful during the American Civil War. Men in extreme suffering from unbelief, through the greater disorder, give fuel to the supplicating emotion as they do not at other times. Such of us must find relief in order. As we possess the action, we have the belief which is this possession. Of a surety, the freedom which is faith is the at-one-ment with the life—the Now.

CHAPTER VIII

NEWS : LETTERS

News answers to the demand for sensation as knowledge of order in life. The most ordinary view of this demand in the State is in the questions, instinct with everybody:—"What is it? What is it for?" What a thing or a circumstance is, what it is for, involves the action of a thing in its relations in life ; and ordered news, or knowledge, about anything is simply the statement of its phases of action in relation to full action. Carrying this view out, the simple conclusion results that the absolute news or sensation about anything is the absolute unity of it, as in economic relations to the wider action which we know as the State. The easiest and most concrete view of it, the easiest definition of absolute news, comes thus to be the reporting of things according to people's interests. This is the showing of how far a thing shapes itself to what men want. In reporting a thing, giving the sensation about it, Letters tells how far it approaches usefulness, or division of labor.

In general, to report a thing as to the degree in which it approaches order we have to indicate its qualities relative to economic demand. To report a thing as it is it has to be measured by full usefulness, so far as the latter may be known in experience. Letters is the practical business of reporting things on this formula and cannot transcend what is known, or actual. That is, Letters can only report what it knows. But to be practical Letters *must* report what it knows, must report a thing in its completeness so far as experience has determined it. For Letters to falsify experience in reporting life, by adding to or by taking away, is for it to falsify itself. Letters is in so far not Letters—having in so far vitiated its

place in life as action. We should be able to find the reality of the report in any incident which occurs—we need not care what.

There is a brand of mucilage containing fish glue now gaining way into more or less common use so far as it comes to people's notice through a limited distribution and publicity. There are certain facts about this mucilage which may be given as making the main of its absolute news. They all relate to its usefulness. The first is that, once dry, it sticks better than the gum arabic mucilage. Next, it is lasting, less easily affected by weather; it does not soften in damp like other brands of mucilage upon the market which have saccharine quality and so tend to collect moisture after once being dried—it is not a water collector, as the chemist says. In so far experience shows this brand to be an advance; and in so far we have the absolute report about it. Proceeding with our news, we inquire if the mucilage is commercial in respect to the amount of labor involved in it. If it cannot be put to the consumer at a price which warrants its general consumption then it is out of economic relation. Men cannot generally use things if the amount of labor in them, represented by the price, means exhaustion of time and effort so far as to disjoint life. If so much labor has got to be put into the procurement and manufacture of a mucilage, for instance, that men as a whole have to work excessive hours to support it, or have to deny themselves considerable in food, sleep, and clothing, then it does not have economic relation to the whole as commerce and its limitations are accordingly set down. In this the course of the report, the absolute news, would have to be that it is lacking in the essential of the unity of life—the practical statement of this being that it is too expensive for use. On the other hand, investigations into this phase of its unity, or usefulness, might show that it saved at a very small cost of service a product that had hitherto in part gone to waste. Inquiry might show that used alone or forming the basis for certain grades of mucilage it tended to cheapen the

whole product in the average cost, while at the same time, if we are correct, going to help the quality. The unified report has therefore to state that it saves labor and gives corresponding advantage in life—in the practical language of trade, that it cheapens the cost of the product. A fact adverse to its usefulness is its somewhat bad odor. While this does not keep it from the writing table, it is against its use at the point of greatest ease ; many sensitive nerves would be unable to use it at all. In this count the report has to state that the product is not in the last degree a useful one—simply that it lacks good odor. Looking further, Letters inquires as to the unity of the distribution, that is, whether handled at cost. Investigation here shows that, cheap as it apparently is, it is selling at more than double its cost. The bottle, with brush, costs half a cent ; the mucilage itself costs less than half a cent. Transportation and an organized counter should add approximately a cent to this, making the total cost, say, two cents. In the light of this news, people who buy the mucilage and pay five to ten cents per bottle become aware of their status in life as affected by it, or the division of labor it represents. They know how far they are living under just conditions. The further development of the report is that the State does not arrest the “traders,” explaining that pillage by the so-called margin is a present condoned disorder. Touching this, the report makes clear that if thieving be put out in one direction it must tend to be put out in all directions. If the State organizes against taking money in one direction without working for it, without equal exchange of value, it must needs organize against it in other directions. Letters has to show that the attendant conditions to the unity of a bottle of mucilage at cost, two cents, is railroad fares at one cent, or at cost, telegrams at approximately a cent, houses at fifty cents a week, sugar at two cents a pound, etc. And this in one outlook measurably covers the report on the bottle of mucilage.

It must be gathered from this that News does not need

at every turn to obtrude in its reports the principle, or tool, by which it interprets, or gives sensation—rather, it for the most part conveys the principle, as operative, or applied, by giving the good or bad qualities of a thing, being its action viewed from every side. Thus, the simple statement about the mucilage—that it is wearable, double price and of bad odor—conveys to man its economics. At once, the sensation is whether it fits or disagrees with their needs—the measure of unity. The sensation about the murder case, again, is that the murderer is found or that he is not. In one case it fits men's needs and in the other case it does not. Thus, the murder report carries on its face the economic fact. In general, people understand murder in its principle—that it is hurtful to society. This has been so effectively raised up in cases that it has become common knowledge, or is common instinct. To formalize the principle, or harm of it, would not be news. It is only the new detail, the new murder, that is news, the public applying the well-known principle themselves. In the case of the action which is the margin of profit, men may not at first understand its principle, its harm to society, until it is carried out in action. In which case its harm is seen as readily as in the case of the murder. Obviously, in any report, the fuller explanation is to show how a thing acts in all its effects, which is to say, its relations ; and this is fuller news.

The ample sensation, or unity, of the report is, evidently, its qualification of men's wellbeing—that men see in it on the one hand the way to improve their conditions, or on the other hand, find that they have attained to well being. In other words, the realization of the report shows the way to be free, or, it tells that freedom is attained.

The full sensation, or unity, of the above report is that it carries the *way* to freedom for men. They see that transportation at cost will go a long way to help mucilage at cost. The most casual mind gets the inference of moving to aid government ownership of railroads—the *way* to freedom.

To gain the other aspect of the full realization in report, we may suppose that the development in life has gone on until investigation shows that the mucilage is the best that man thinks to produce; and that on the side of its distribution it is passing over the counter in that further quality of relation which is strictly cost. The fuller unity, or sensation, of the report is, in this view, the knowledge of the full usefulness of the mucilage, of man's perfect relation to it—that, as affected by it, he has reached the point of greatest ease. The sensation is, in fine, to give man the consciousness that he is free.

To extend the illustration of the unified news, we may suppose that people want to know the reality of the man of leisure. The report must measure him by the absolute relation in life—division of labor. And, in the practical, we know how far he lessens or increases the bondage of men if we see him in the concrete relation which is the price of any article of commerce. We may take the man of leisure who is loafing on the accumulated margins lifted from trade by his ancestor. Measured by the absolute, the man is holding other men in bondage in so far as he does not perform his proportionate share of work. The amount in which he enslaves another man is a matter of ready figures; for, if there are two men out of five idle then the three men who work must increase their labor two-fifths and the average of bondage placed upon men is forty per cent., as over the normal claim of the State upon them. The man who need only work four or five hours a day on a normal footing is bound to work eight or ten under the conditions which do not equalize labor. The practical form which this bondage takes under present organization is the increased cost of products, necessary to support the fiction of interest or other margin in the employment of so-called capital, the device of the man of leisure for taxing a certain number of men who are from two-fifths to one-half his slaves. To pay the fiction of "profit on capital" by which this man lives in leisure we have the increased price on commodities. And the man

who pays a multiple advance on his transportation or on his clothes or house or mucilage, may trace a large portion of it as the measure of his bondage to the disorganic man. Like the other, the sensation of the unified report regarding the man of leisure is that it points the way to freedom for men. It points the way how to get rid of the slave-driver who, in the guise of phrase, is the man of a fortune. We, of course, get rid of him in the ultimate and absolute by organizing the Exchange so that he is unable to tax anyone beyond his exact division of labor, raising him into the common fortunes of men. We know that an advance toward this is organization in any direction subjecting the individual to the control of the Whole.

A phase of life which under a unified report results in a reduction like that of the man of leisure, is the man who through spoliation by margins spends his money under conditions of non-production. To take extreme example, we have the man of large "income" in some cases supporting a stable of fifty racing and carriage horses and keeping in one or another capacity a score of men in their care, that is, in more immediate support of this one man's part in the extravagant play which culminates in the race track or the fox hunt. Allowing for the developing of the higher qualities in horseflesh, which it is claimed is the product of these stables, they must in ninety per cent. of the labor employed be found wholly unproductive. If we consider the large element given to the so-called sporting institution which centers in the play mentioned, we have essentially several hundreds of practically idle men involved in the conditions of one man's prehension by margin. This feature of life is multiplied in all the discussions of the non-productive employment of money. We find it in the yacht of the millionaire, taking the labor in many instances, directly or indirectly, of a hundred men. It is said that Mr. Vanderbilt's yacht carries fifty seamen besides his chef and retinue of servants. And there are the princely estates rising in various directions over the country. Mr. Rockefeller, a little above New York on the Hud-

son, has taken out of production a thousand acres, answering in so far to the baronial estates of the older feudalism. The newspapers report that Mr. Rockefeller is putting into the support of his palace and grounds something like two million days of labor at the outset, figuring it on the average price of labor, which at the present time approximates a dollar. We have another phase in the appropriation of transportation to peculiar private uses. One of the Gould family recently made up a party in a special train for a run across the continent. With the labor drawn upon in the non-productive employment of building a dozen private coaches and the labor of the vineyards for champagne, in amounts corresponding to several thousand days, and the use of railroad service and its army of men, we have, in a realization of the one reduction, the conditions of alarming disunity in the commonwealth, a frightful dismemberment of democracy. These conditions of non-union and disloyalty in the State carried to full computation make for practical idleness, for non-production, of from one-third to one-half its members, as sustaining no unified relation in life. The man who finds himself a slave to ten hours of labor, when five should be his limit, sees his bondage directly in these conditions of betrayal of the State. The claim that capital in its forms of non-productive use is beneficial to the laboring man has, in the unified report, to be revised to read that it is of doubtful benefit to laboring men to have disorder sack them of the product of their work in order that they may be held to the slavery of double time and all the conditions of stringency which come as the outgrowth of disunity in the social. The organic news regarding the man of leisure and the kindred reductions is, then, that they increase prices, starve our children, double our day's work and breed disloyalty and anarchy.

As phase of demand in the State men want to know the unity of breathing—What it is?—What it is for? Letters has long worked at the drawing up of this report. It was very much helped by the chemist Priestly,

who made record of his experience regarding the phenomenon of combustion. He found that there was a specific element in the air which we know as oxygen, and that combustion was the process of the chemical union of this oxygen with elements in substances like wood, that burn. It is now known that the different forms of erosion or decay, like rust and wood-rot, under exposure of substances to air and moisture, are different forms of this combustion, or oxidation. Along with this experience, or discovery, it was found that breathing is the process of conveying air to the blood for the combustion of the body. The blood, curtained from the air in the lungs by scarcely tangible membrane, gives up in carbonic acid certain burned debris of the body, and takes on oxygen for conveyance to all parts of the body in the continued life process. The heat and health of the body it was found had its dependence upon the combustion which resulted from oxygen supplied by breathing. In this first cast of the unity of the report we see man's breathing connected widely with all process of life and change. In its further reduction, as coming up through this, we have to describe a phase of its unity as having its practical effect in the organization and liberation of man. The first effect, as so far described, of course makes for the liberty of man in his mental enlargement and order. But there is a reduction which directly shapes his material surroundings and in added effect frees him. And, while the unity of knowledge in relation to man's experience with oxygen builds for the material organization in chemistry and other lines of trade we may keep to that effect of it which directly touches the point of view with which we started, namely, breathing as life process of men. Through knowledge here the architect is able to organize his phase of life with relation to the number of cubic feet of air which a room must supply to a person. This question is reduced to a simple mathematical problem, so that neither the architect nor the State at large are longer hampered by conditions of ignorance respecting it. Thus, in two aspects we have

gathered the reduction of breathing into its unity, or news—into its qualification of freedom, the highest sensation for man.

Demand in the State could ask to have measured the unphonetic spelling as taught in the schools. We have in the first instance of the reduction to see that the unphonetic spelling violates the whole organization of the school. Education has its basis of order in the logical process of mind. The unphonetic spelling is strictly a violation of this. It may be said that teaching the unphonetic spelling is the induction of the child into illogical method, which the attendant machinery and more advanced work of the school attempts to reverse. But there remains the lamentable condition that the illogical process is ever with the child, working indirection and discomfiture of mind. In further reduction, we have the enormous waste to child and teacher of this lesion of the system. It is probably an under-estimate to say that one-third of the time of child and teacher is wasted on the illogical method of the word—not to go beyond and into the sentence. It is hardly a contradiction of this to bring the claim that the illogical spelling has in it the logic of preserving derivation; this is preserved for those who have need of it by the very simple process of the book of reference.

There has been a demand in the State, wellnigh universal with men from the beginning of knowledge, to know the unity of mind and matter—of the “spirit and the flesh.” The unity of such report has waited upon experience in the region of psychology, as also of physics. The need has been to get the relation or dependence of mind upon matter, and vice versa. We have seen a phase of the development of this report rising through Hegel, Caird, and other students as men of Letters. And latterly we have had its reduction to stable and more practical unity through advancing the language of mind to motion. As reducing to commerce, we may gain its final aspect of unity. This is the waste it saves. It disposes of the church as a distinct institution in life,

freeing a misapplied energy for whatever useful function it may find. It disposes of the church because the "spirit" and "morals" which the church essayed to treat attains rational explanation, beyond any call upon the pulpit. In so far as the preacher has adaptability for explaining the unity of life he reduces to the man of Letters. Where he has not the capacity of rational report, he is distributed into other callings.

News organizes on the divisions of labor representing the different fields of technical knowledge entering into the complete report. A while ago dispatches appeared in some of the leading Eastern newspapers, the New York *Herald* among others, depicting a case of partial asphyxiation of a carload of people through the accidental inhaling of ether. The circumstances according to the dispatches were that a surgeon had boarded a train at Syracuse, on the New York Central, on his way to a neighboring town to perform an operation. It was said that the can of ether which he carried was uncorked by the jolting of the train and within a few seconds all the passengers in the car were close upon suffocation, being only saved from speedy death by the fortunate appearance of the brakeman, who came to the door to cry his station. The account stated that but for this timely arrival there would have been a carload of dead passengers. The brakeman was represented as assisting resuscitation by opening car windows and fanning passengers. A multitude of people who read the report credited implicitly the statements which it contained. A newspaper editor went so far as to comment on the carelessness of the surgeon in carrying a can of ether liable to become uncorked. The lack of unity, or truthfulness, in the report as it went through the news channels is traceable to the fact that there was no division of labor in its treatment by a man having technical knowledge of medicine and the well-known conditions of anæsthetization. The facts in the case related are, in the first place, that ether is usually carried about by surgeons in close soldered cans, without corks. The further facts are that to etherize a patient a tolerably

close-fitting cap has to be shut down on his face and the fluid continuously dripped upon it. In most cases two or three strong persons are required to hold the subject while he is coming under the influence of the drug. The doctor considers himself fortunate if he is not longer than ten or fifteen minutes in bringing his patient under. Had the report in its movement through News been referred to the merest novice in technical knowledge of medicine it would have been stopped.

The present post office building in Chicago, which is generally known to be going to pieces, and recently pronounced unsafe, is a witness to the lack of technical division of labor in reporting. When this structure was erecting in the middle seventies there was a great deal said by the Chicago newspapers and by dispatches over the country about the inadequacy of the foundations. But it took the form of indefinite general statements and surmise, removed from qualified evidence sustaining the charge. No sufficient and incontrovertible facts were put out. Added to this, some newspapers contradicted the charge of unsubstantial work on the building. These latter statements were likewise short of adequate particulars. In the confusion, the general public was left without any understanding of the matter. Mr. Mullett, the architect, went on with the job to meet the after deplorable facts in the case. The need of publicity was for technical knowledge of the actual conditions of the fraud going on in the foundation ditches. At the time there were in the vicinity easily some score of competent engineers and architects who could have told exactly the fault with the first stone of the foundations and of every subsequent item in the building. Organization which would have united news in employment of one or more of these men in constant watchfulness of construction to report defect in its smallest item, would have enabled the public to fix the responsibility for the offence. In the aftermath we of course have knowledge of the failure of the building and the loss of its million days' labor, but too late for efficient placing of blame.

So far as development has carried it, News now acts on the recognition of the principle. It is the prevailing practice at newspaper offices to turn on to reports men who have a special or technical knowledge fitting the requirements. If a man is to be sent out for a report on some happening in water circles the managing editor takes a reporter who has shown a readiness in these things. It often develops that a report of this kind requires the labor of several men, each having adaptability of knowledge for one of its several phases. Though the newspaper offices are not always organized for efficiency on this principle they work to it as much as they can. A ship one time arrived in the harbor of New York with most of its crew dead or prostrate from scurvy. A leading New York newspaper in making up its report turned in what it called its marine reporter, as man in charge of the case. This reporter was instructed to call in any other available men on the paper. Before the news was supplied there had been brought into the work a medical attache of the paper and a marine lawyer. In supplementary news on the matter physicians and marine lawyers were interviewed, their statements being in effect a division of labor in the news. The medical reporter on the paper and the marine lawyer substantially organized this part of the report. The result was a measurably unified presentation of the news of the plagued ship. The outcome found the captain essentially convicted of manslaughter in failure to furnish the proper ingredient of vegetable in the ship's food.

We see the recognition by the public of this principle of division of labor, in its demand upon the newspaper for technical news. A man recently wrote to one of the New York dailies asking if they wouldn't find for the public the truth or falsity of the talk about beer being adulterated. He wanted to be able to buy a glass of some brand of beer with a knowledge of its purity. The correspondent asked the newspaper to have the several brands analyzed and reported upon. He asked also that experts in knowledge of beer-making be put to watch the whole process of

manufacture from day to day and report the breweries making good beer. It was suggested that manufacturers who wouldn't allow close inspection of this kind would *prima facie* stand before the public as adulterers of beer. It was submitted by the correspondent that the money which the paper paid to its editors for talking around the facts of life could be employed in actually reporting a few things like this. There has been the same demand for knowledge as to the adulteration of other foods. And people have recently asked the newspapers to ascertain through expert navigators and engineers the truth of the statement that ocean steamships were running at a dangerously high rate of speed. And the demand, of course, more or less universally exists to know the actual cost at the present time of a glass of beer, a loaf of bread, a pound of nails, a watch, a bicycle, a ride to Liverpool or San Francisco, a coat, a bonnet—both from the standpoint of the profit margin and of the exchange at cost. People would like to know the actual cost on these lines of everything they buy. In short, they demand the News in all fields.

The U. S. Census Report though nominally apart from the regular organization of news is in reality a phase of it. In making this report the government may be regarded as engaged in supplementing deficiencies of newspaper organization. The parallel is exactly as though the railroads were deficient in fuel and cars and the government voted them gratuitous supplies helping out the lack. We see marked division of labor on technical lines in this report. A Commissioner of Education standing for the Educational Report, gets out his specific part of this news. Similarly we have the Agricultural Report and the Fisheries. And there is the report of the Commissioner of Labor. The state bureaus of statistics issuing their technical reports are likewise essentially a division of News.

The consciousness of the newspapers as to the principle has some indication in the way in which they blazon their more specialized reports. They put upon the front of their paper in their bold type announcements of these reports, emphasizing technical phases of the news which

their enterprise has secured. That they are partly conscious of need of organization under the principle seems also apparent in the specific praise which they take to themselves for rising to technical division of labor in such cases as may chance.

News has its organ of centralization, or head, in a Cabinet of Intelligence composed of men representing technical knowledge of the various fields of industry; this is the method of the fuller report and provides representation of the interests of each Class in the State. In looking for the working centralization of Intelligence we sound publicity for phase of outgiving which shapes the utterance of News in its body as a whole. It is to be found in any direction yielding some principle which shapes news, whether occurring in newspapers, so-called books or upon the platform. News does not get its innate character from its mouthpiece, but from the nature of the utterance. We look at the publicity in the late political canvass.

The St. Louis Convention of 1896—the National Republican Party—was marked by the inertia of old forms of social forces which persist until the issue is clearly drawn against them as element obstructive to advance. This convention marked the cleavage in the conscious action of the nation between the radically obstructive elements and the forming order. The adduction which brought it together had nothing of the gravity of a principle striving to shape the out moving forces. It was rather that amazing chemical process of the State in which the old base, becoming weakened in its hold upon the economic life, is attacked by the element of fixation. The resulting immobility is the precipitate separating itself from the fluid of social action. The destiny of the failing thing is a new resolution of being, but through decay in its isolation from life. The weight of utterance delivered in the Convention was the moulding into doctrine of a past nodding to its fall. When the mallet rapped the Convention to order the nation was fretting in disunion; America was a disunited commerce.

The center of the nation, New York, had severed the provinces from itself by phenomenal levy of transportation and other tolls under the margin concept. Communication between all parts of the country had similarly been cut. Exchange, having its center in the New York Clearing House, was bleeding the extremities of the country into the East. There was the disunion of reciprocal flow in exchange between the center and the provinces that is marked by the hot head and cold feet. The reform looking to restoration of loyalty between the sections could hardly lie in an application of the leech of a dishonest Bourse. It could not lie in the dogmatic retention of methods which had passed their life and become irritant. The remedy lay in the removal in some degree of the levy upon commerce, and the recognition of the organizing industries. The reform was in part in so simple a thing as transportation and communication at cost through the proposition to government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. And in another direction it was so simple a thing as the proposition looking to arbitration in industrial spasms. But this was the abdication of all that the Convention was. It was the resignation of the king. The Convention was organized by the constabulary of the disloyal forces that had dismembered the nation. It was officered by the instruments of the private interest and it attended upon the king's extremities. Advised by the mediæval chiefs it recast into inflexible assertion measures which had come to be ruinous to the people. The Convention in the sum of its action had come to accept and enact into design the growing breach in exchange, having its effect in "making the rich richer and the poor poorer" and discarding every principle tending to resolve them into the fraternity of equal exchange and freed commerce. The body of the convention was brought from the ward tricksters in every locality—men with a reputation among their neighbors for extreme partizanship or for sale of political service. The mediæval secrecy cloaked the proceedings. Bribes whispered in the lobbies.

In the Chicago Convention of the succeeding days of the summer we have the contrast of a body gathered in openness and freedom to abjure the decadent concepts; they had met to throw over the obstructive measures. The next thing to knowing positive conditions of order is to arrive at certitude of the conditions of disorder. It may be said that the Chicago Convention had attained to a considerable measure of the latter. By whatever words it was put, it nevertheless is true that the men of the Chicago Convention had discovered the inequality and fracture of the State bred of the fiction of gold as instrument of exchange—bred of the disorder of the attempt to raise gold out of its function of common commodity. These interests had got so far as to discern the unstable equilibrium of gold in this attempt to force its function. They had rightly made out that this fictitious use had given it fictitious value. They pointed to the overweighting of the significance of gold as forcing its index up until the payment of a farm mortgage meant dispossession to the farmer. It required little prescience for the men of the Convention to know this, for in one way or another they were the direct and so conscious victims of the system of an unequal exchange, a phase of which they could understand as exaggerated by the fiction of gold. But their consciousness was only as the victims. They did not grasp the fault of the evil looked at in the fuller method of its correction, they did not get through to the absolute principle of money—the simple notion of the bill of exchange as record of the transaction, based on the unit of a day's labor. Their consciousness was the reaction from the irritation of the single gold standard, the reaction from the single commodity as measure of exchange. The proposition to inject silver into the money situation they clearly saw as lessening the fiction of the one commodity, as standard. As they caught it, they understood that they were coming to increase money. But the reality was in so far a movement toward the reduction of gold to common level of all commodity. The reality of their proposition favoring

the coinage of silver was the freeing of this metal which rested in the falsity of regarding only one commodity, gold, as measurement of values, whereas all commodities should have equal place. Though they did not get the principle, they moved in its direction—the reduction of all commodity to the same equal plane of exchange. On the whole, the rationality of their action was the determination to try this much of their discernment. It would not be well, like the St. Louis Convention, to enact into phrase the conditions of their own evil; having freer agency than that body, they could try something that had not yet been tried. The magnificence of their action was their proposal to try some new thing, having to them measure of promise, to determine it by its results. The greatness of the proceeding at Chicago, in contrast with St. Louis, was the turning upon vicious conditions, and the movement out into the open of a new venture in the State. It was the rise of the people from degradation, trusting a new freedom.

It appears not improbable that the out-movement toward the equable exchange has to be the breaking of the fiction of the gold standard by the free injection of another commodity, like silver. This fiction gone, there could be the wholesome resolution toward unification of exchange on the rational basis of the labor standard. The banker, torn by the currents, would not unlikely be found ready to move in organization on the legitimate lines. It seems certain that if silver can be injected to diversify and complicate the present fictions of exchange that the banker will have no recourse left but to follow the one proposition having promise. He can, apparently, find no other outlet, for it will be said by the people that both gold and silver have been tried, and the remedy is not in these.

We have thus discerned the Chicago Convention in line with the gathering forces, and, whatever else may be said, that the Convention marks a line which the people have crossed. While, commensurate, we have to expect that a like body of 1900, whatever name it may take, will

advance the issue to transportation at cost and the referendum in government, on which we now see the flood of favoring utterance.

The morning after the action at Chicago, upon silver and what the baron names the as allied heresies of the proletariat, the *New York Sun*, in the most trenchant of leaders sprang instantly to the defence of the feudal system. Thirty years before like writers had called upon patriotic men, in newspapers the counterpart of the *Sun*, to come to the defense of property vested in the African slaves. In the dread days of the upheaval preceeding and throughout the Civil War, such writers were all that Mr. Lincoln was not. It is the brutality which stands guard by old issues when the ideas of men are on the rack of birth. In 1860 these mediaeval warders gave the instant cue to a part of the press of the country, which followed them in the spleen of decadence. So in 1896 they gave the instant cue of the meaning of the Chicago Convention to the sectional press. The *Sun* leader was the next morning copied entire by the *New York Herald*, with the announcement that it was their guide for the canvass. Throughout the country the sectional papers lined up on the issue made by the *Sun* editorial—the short of which was that the Democratic party had passed into socialism beyond recall and was already inviting the abrogation of private property. With the exception of the *Journal* the whole New York press took this cue to the situation and denounced everything as unpatriotic that was not mediaeval. Men turned anxiously to the *Journal* for some utterance at the center that should be nearer the commonalty. With measure that was dramatic in its loneliness the *Journal* accepted the full cause, taking up the battle against the monied intrenchment. In contrast with the venom of a shoaling decay, the *Journal* in much had the pleasantry of sight and kindness of sentence that marks resource of principle. The extremity of the opposing press was detected in its lack of any humor in discussing their cause. They had reached the tension in the hatred of the Idea that gave them place

among the enemies of men. The New York *Journal*, previously little known, rapidly passed the half million mark in its circulation. A list of papers throughout the country, more especially the provincial weeklies—less under the blight of Lombard Street—followed the *Journal* in its leading utterances, throwing themselves with the struggling cause.

Underneath the drama of this we discern a centralized weighing of conditions in the Nation, more or less in unity with advance. The action of the New York *Journal* may stand for this qualification of the machine of Letters. Seen as direction of the publicity of the country it virtually rises into the head, or centralization, of News. Before the *Journal* wrote its leader in support of the Chicago Convention—the new consciousness in democracy—it weighed the opinions of the leading writers and other publicists of the time. The result was the outgiving of what it considered the weight of principle after various views had been canvassed. The reality of this is that the *Journal* essentially gave utterance to a majority vote of a Cabinet meeting of leading publicists in democracy. We know that the *Journal* consulted the views of men competent to speak of the interests of various lines of business. The consulting of these interests, in a conference of men in which they were widely canvassed, furnishes the make-up of the Cabinet of News in divisions of labor standing for the various industries, or Classes. The action affords in effect a Cabinet composed of men having technical knowledge of the different lines of industry in the State.

The outgiving under the lead of the New York *Sun* gets its reality as schism in the Cabinet. This conflict in publicity must be seen as the expression of disorganization in the News Class as a body and in the Cabinet as directing head. Organization of the News Cabinet presupposes that it is organized for singleness of action. This means action on a majority vote of the Cabinet. It has its model in the organization of the United States Supreme Court. The latter body is the head of the Judiciary Class in

America and its majority vote makes the rule of action on questions of principle for the whole judiciary body of the country, otherwise there is no organization and no action in the Judiciary Class and the administration of justice falls into chaos. Similarly, under degree of efficient organization, the majority vote of the Cabinet of News would have to determine the paramount utterance of the News body, going to control the whole machinery of publicity. The minority report of the Cabinet could only be considered in the light of distracting utterance, not to be regarded as the action of News. The utterance of the whole press of the country, as controlled by the head, would be a unit with the majority report of the Cabinet. The minority report would not be considered a matter of general news and would only be held in pamphlet at the service of some demand should it appear. In the outlook it is thus apparent that the wrangling of Newsmen, if existent at all, would be as confined to themselves in the working out of utterance, in the formal discussion by a body under rules of stable proceeding. The Nation would not be disturbed by partial and immature utterance.

We thus get the unified movement of publicity through determination of its line of utterance by the News Cabinet, as at once the centre of News and the cerebrum of democracy.

The working head of the Cabinet and of News. If the parallel with the higher judiciary be carried further, we see the necessity of an organizing head for the News Cabinet and for News in general, corresponding to the Chief Justice of the National Supreme Court. As regards this Court the Chief Justice may be said virtually to direct, or organize, its action. He may be considered as making its rules of proceeding, formulating its outgivings, etc., but by advice and consent of the majority of the court. In essentials the members of the court can overrule him by a majority vote. The Chief Justice may be regarded as going forward of his own motion in all matters, making the responsible head of the Judicial

business in America, though he acts with regard to the will of the Judicial Cabinet, and, further, with regard to criticism by the entire judicial body. It is on the same plan that the News Cabinet organizes. It has its president who is virtually directing head of News for both the Cabinet and the whole News body. The president of the Cabinet is president of News, or News General. He makes the general rules of his Class, formulates principles, indorses important outgivings, directs the Cabinet. But he does this with regard to the will of the latter and of the News body, who may each overrule him. Any action of his permitted by the Cabinet is in effect the action of the Cabinet. In new and important matters he calls his meeting of Cabinet or otherwise sounds it ; but moves independently in all matters, making the responsible head of News.

It is proposable that there are a limited number of ex-officio members of the Cabinet drawn from the News body by the different Cabinet members, who may need to have advisers near them, forming altogether the philosophic body of democracy.

The organization of the Newspaper makes for action in the State. As a result of not carrying to the full the principle of organized action upon which they themselves partly work, as a result of the partial relation of ideas through failure to attain a common head and set all phases of life into proportion, the Newspapers put out incomplete reports leading to confusion and conflict of the people. And in turn the newspaper body has slow test in the action of the State as to the truth of its utterance. The illustration of this we have seen in the political canvass. Part of the papers speak for one action and another part speak for conflicting action. Whereas if the papers through a central body or head would agree upon one line of utterance the people could get together in their action and try the result of a given idea. The probable desirability of the extension of the mail service to include the telegraph is in the air and half sought by the people. If the newspapers could harmonize their ut-

terance and say it is thought best to try this action the people would get together and issue their warrant, and then it would be known certainly whether it is a good thing. Or a central newspaper Cabinet might determine that the newspaper body should speak in favor of trying the Government ownership of railroads so that the people could get together on this point and try it. The Cabinet would not be omniscient any more than are men, but it would be efficient in the sense that a body of men represents more experience than a single person. Knowledge is the result of action. And it cannot be known beforehand exactly what the result of new action will be. But there is the reasonable view when things are not right that certain remedial action should be tried. If the Cabinet and the people try one considerate view and find it wrong they will then say another way should be right, and they will try that way. The great trouble now is that the people are stopped in their action through the disorganized publicity and can only through great turmoil and suffering get their slow direction. A poll of the people now may mean little more than that a majority are confused. With the clarified news, they could as a body more certainly get action in some direction where they now stand still in tedious struggle. It could have been the utterance of the press in 1896 to let the people get together and try some way out of their trouble. They could come to determine whether silver is the corrective or not by the newspapers saying "We may try it, since a gold standard has been tried and a large body of the people are not satisfied." The Cabinet might not be ready to say that silver is the absolute remedy but it should be prepared with a single voice to say, getting nearest to the popular discontent, that we may try silver and then we will know whether it is a good thing ; and if it does not work we can try something else. It could say this, or with singleness propose any seemingly determinative course, throwing itself upon the test of action. But with the principles of State once worked out in action, a Cab-

inet of the Organized Intelligence may as often go right in public polity as a body of United States Engineers in determining the foundation of a bridge, or the structure of a lighthouse.

The integrity or faithfulness of the Cabinet of Intelligence.

The element which creates an integrity in men is responsibility in action. The direct result of organization is the fixing of responsibility. A man has to be responsible for his part. The force of it as to the action of men is seen in some railroad accident where the aim of investigation is to get at the responsible party, with men endeavoring to shift the blame upon their fellows. So it is everywhere. In the recent investigation into abuses in the government of the city of New York the effort was to locate the man responsible for it. He was not found owing to the slack organization of the municipal government. The well-known integrity of the United States engineers is laid in the fact that if a man puts a channel wrong or builds a lighthouse insecure, he has to stand the consequences. A United States engineer is put in charge of a division or a piece of work and is absolutely answerable for the conduct of it. And a general probity goes along with the trueness of mind acquired in the exactions of responsible art. There have been few cases of financial corruption in the United States engineering service for the last fifty years, extending over the disorder and looseness of the Civil War. Able men of every calling as a rule possess the general probity of mind. It is the requirement of the action of mind that it cannot be half false and half true as a practice; it must work to trueness as a whole, or fail of its corruption. The News Cabinet would have the undivided responsibility for action-making utterance and upon it error would return. It would be made to feel the same weight that the train dispatcher has in bringing his trains through. And in the case of the Statesman-philosopher, central to life in the Cabinet of Intelligence, a more profound responsibility might be thought to accrue. After all is said, the simplest view of the principle is, that organization makes a

man responsible for his own disorder. Men commonly recognize this as the method of compelling integrity. The everyday illustration of this is the practice of some men of paying a doctor by the year to keep them well, or paying a mechanic by the year to keep a given machine in repair. This is simply so much organization of the doctor or mechanic against results, as responsibility.

With a Cabinet conscious of exact relations of men and measuring in its make-up the phases of the life of the nation, utterance must be more removed from the factional prejudice. The Civil War in America was the result of the divided ideas of democracy; and these ideas might be counted as nearer whole in the years verging upon 1860 if the responsibility for the utterance of the newspapers of the time on the question of the mending of the broken Nation could have been put upon a central body of men with integrate leaning. In the present crisis one section of the press speaks for the bankers as against the farmer, applying sophistries in its presentation; and another section of the press speaks for the farmers against the bankers finding no logical common ground of interest. The members of the News Cabinet could but be driven to surmount such schism in their body, striving for the resultant view until they got a majority utterance of the common ground of interest for all factions. This must tend to the organic.

The Cabinet of News gets its practice in dissecting or organizing the General News movement, revealing the organization at the Center. The General News is news that is not restricted in its interest to any particular Class, persons, or locality, but, on the contrary, is of interest to everybody in every place. This news coming through the regional heads to the center is determined as to its character and make-up. The offices at the center are organized for handling General News of every kind. Each specialization or department of General News, as chemistry or farming, is in charge of a member of the Cabinet answering to such particular side of knowledge. This man organizes his department in its various phases for

handling his specialty in news. General farming news, for instance, coming in, is put upon the hooks of this department, or dissection, of news. But at the same time it is hung upon the hooks of all the other departments for any suggestions or modifications they may offer. These modifications are considered and incorporated into the report, or on the other hand excluded, by the desk having charge of Farm news. The suggestion of this central organization is in the present action of the newspaper offices at the large centers which refer given news to an editor best competent to handle it, who in turn asks other editors or reporters to work it over for suggestions.

This movement illustrates the working organization of the News Class through a head. As indicated, the organization of the Cabinet in this working movement is in charge of a president as managing head, who is necessarily responsible for the organization at the center and in turn of the news movement of the entire country—much as the Postmaster-General is responsible for the immediate organization of the Mails center at Washington and in turn the whole postal movement of the country.

The Regional head, or center of the territorial division, of the News Class is provided in the dissecting newsman and his organized office at the commercial center of each Region. The news of Michigan, for instance, as one of forty or more Regions, comes to a point like Detroit, or wherever the wires of commerce center for such a division. The part of this news which the Michigan head would see had interest beyond Michigan is sent on, reflected, to the National center and the part of the news having a purely Michigan interest is made up in its bearings and sent back, reflected, to the local papers of the state. We have in this the reflex movement of the intelligence of the locality back upon the entire area of the Region and the reflex on to the cerebral center, the Cabinet of Intelligence at New York, or wherever it is located.

The lesser area, as unit of the organized intelligence subordinate to the Region, is the news movement of the

County, or precinct, to its center. A News agent as this subordinate center, with his organized office, dissects the purely County, or precinct, news from the larger movement, which latter he passes on to the Regional head at a point like Detroit. The purely County news goes no further than the County head, being reflected back in the classified local paper, or County bulletin. This comprehends the lesser reflex movement of intelligence.

The organ of intelligence which furnishes the immediate contact with life on the side of news gathering is the reporter, or news-man, who is intimate with the movement of things in the restricted sense of the village, the country township, or the city ward. He gives expression to the contact, or movement, of his circumscribed locality. He stands for the peripheral nerve-ending of democracy. In news extraordinary, as requiring exhaustive and technical reporting, this man is helped by reporters sent down from the County head; and for some of these, in extra instance, the County head may draw upon the Regional head, as at Detroit. The peripheral man is helped out, supplemented, by the Regional head, as the external nerve-ending in the animal body is helped out by the next higher sense organs. The peripheral man is a single element in a unit news movement of which the higher centers are the fuller divisions of labor.

Within the general movement of news there is a dissection, or editing, which is of interest in its larger detail to a given Class, being the Class News. For instance, there may be special detail news relating to the railroads of Michigan which is sent out by a department of the Regional head at Detroit as Regional railroad news and goes into the Transportation Class paper or railroad man's journal; and there is a movement of railroad news of wider interest through Detroit and the other Regional heads to the general, or National, center and back again to the railroad papers or bulletins of the entire country. This Class News in its detail intimately relates to the interests and working of the Class to which it belongs. This is the reflex

from the external sense-organs in every community to the special functions, or organs, of the social body.

The Individual News is the dissection, or classification, of news that is not of interest to the general public or to any body of Class workers, as a whole. This final dissection and distribution of the news, as of the restricted interest, is held at the News-Office for anybody who may apply for it. This provides the Bureau of Inquiry in the organized News. A man who wants some fact which is his own interest purely will get it at this Inquiry Bureau, or counter, of the News-Office, by asking for it and paying the price. It is something that arises in personal contact, or interest, on which there is insufficient information in the General and Class movement of News. It may be some matter that is not of immediate history and has passed into accumulated or compiled news. A farmer might want the exact contribution by Watt to the steam engine, or a railroad man might want something in a popular way about the oyster or the plow. Naturally these cannot be daily loaded upon the wires of the General or Class. The News Office would sell the inquirer a book or leaflet covering the question, or it might be dealt with in ten or a hundred words, as in answer to some one who should ask for the conditions under which crucibles explode. The buyer would apply to the nearest News-Office, situated in every town; and if this office did not know, it would call up the News-Office of its Regional head. This, the Inquiry Bureau in life, from the standpoint of the purely personal need, has its physiological analogy in the consideration that any point of contact, any village, any person, however remote, may get ordered information through nerves to and from the intelligence center.

The News is in degree now organized and moving from its external nerve-endings upon its Regional heads and central Cabinet, coming back in sensation to the general public, to the Class, and to the Individual. The newspaper now has its local correspondent, though in a hapless and

irresponsible way. It has essentially its Regional, or divisional, heads in the several newspaper editors in centers like Detroit. Here the organization is deficient in that the several newspaper editors or managers do not form one News-Board, under a single managing head. The result of this disorganization in the Regional head is the conflicting Regional, or state, news distributed to an area like Michigan. But certain essential movement of General and Local news nevertheless exists. News coming into Detroit that is reckoned of general interest is passed on to New York or to other large center of news movement, being dissected and transmitted by the Associated Press agents, who stand for the general movement of news to the Cabinet center and back to the Regional heads. The Regional center is deficient again in that the Michigan head at Detroit, for instance, has no adequate organization for dissecting the General News coming from its territory to be sent on to New York, being instead the inadequate and hap-hazard notion of some person representing the above Press agency as to what is of wider interest beyond the local demand. At New York or other center, like Chicago, where the General News is made up and sent to the country we have more or less faithful transmission of what comes, but with no organization for making it up into its bearings. Such news as comes to New York over the Associated Press wires goes back to the several newspapers of the country essentially a reflex current, though, as indicated, more in the mechanical sense, having had little skilled treatment. And through deficient organization at all points for the handling of news it generally gets out to the people touched with the prejudice of a local editor representing the factional views of a locality. And the movement of news through the centers is frequently colored by the investment interests. The Newsmen here, as elsewhere, often deliberately mislead the public in prop of the money interest and the existing slavery. There is no correcting head to enforce integrity of the general interest against the narrow.

Regarding the reflex, or movement, of Class News through the Regional and National heads and back to the several Classes through the several Class journals, there is very little direct classification. But the movement exists. The Class news is mixed in with the general movement and printed in the general news columns of the papers, or it is discarded altogether if it is seemingly not of interest to the larger public. In the one case it is usually so much clipped of its detail that it does not fill the wants of the Class, and in the other case it is often lost to the Class. The Class journals, which have everywhere sprung up, partly fill the deficiency in the movement. For instance, the Railway Engineer's journal takes what it thinks is of interest out of the general newspapers and also publishes news from its own correspondents, who write with knowledge of the happenings of the Class. But it should be said that the Class flow of news has as yet hardly come above the horizon of the newspaper men as a part and dissection of the movement.

The Inquiry Bureau is found to have quasi-existence in the inquiry columns of the papers. But it has small compass, with practically no organization, and is compelled to turn away questions which it characterizes as not of enough general moment to interest more persons than the applicant. The *Ladies' Home Journal*, of Philadelphia, has largely been built up on this limited inquiry side. Newspaper men complain that people flood them with questions over the telephone and by letter that are beyond the scope of their organization. This is a phase of the strangulation of the State by the disordered news.

The outlook on the organized intelligence reduces and gathers together under one movement the various phases of the publishing business. The outlook is first on that phase of the Triangle of Intelligence which classifies as the General News, this, as seen, being news of general interest—something that everybody is supposed to want. The first form of the publication of this, answering to the general newspaper of to-day, is *The Newsbook*. This

central dissection out of the stream of news has equal interest for a man in California, a man in New York or a man in Texas. In character it simply answers to what is the general news now published simultaneously each morning and afternoon in all the great dailies of the country. It is in the main such news as is furnished by the Associated Press, except, as we have seen, it has more systematic and unified handling. And



since this General News has to come to the center, or Cabinet, for its treatment and for its distribution we see that *The Newsbook*, the great political daily, is made up in its entirety at the commercial center of democracy. This paper as fast as it is made up at the office at the center is put upon the general telegraphic circuit and taken

off and printed in its entirety by each Regional center. It would thus occur that the general publication, *The Newsbook*, at San Francisco or Galveston would be an exact copy of *The Newsbook* at New York or Chicago. The publication would practically fall upon the country as a whole in the same moment of time and in the same make-up. The first projection of this distribution of the General News from the center would naturally be put upon the wires in the form of condensations, or bulletins. The Regional centers would take these bulletins off the larger circuit and put them upon the circuit of the Region. Each County head would in turn transfer them to the local wire, or circuit, of its division, corresponding to the news ticker circuit now become common in the cities. It would result that the whole country would simultaneously get the condensations of important General News—the fuller detail coming to them in the publications from their nearest centers.

The next phase of the publication is the general news of each Region strictly, corresponding to the present state news. This could issue from the Regional head in company with *The Newsbook*, but as a distinct print or

classification, called *The Region*. It is general news corresponding to circumscribed territorial interest. Everybody in the Region wants it. Its condensations, or bulletins, preceeding its more detail publication, would be put upon the Regional circuit to be taken off by the lesser, or County, circuit, interspersed with the General News bulletins proper.

There is a third form of news, still more restricted in its interest, but general to its locality. This is the local news of the town and its adjacent territory. As transportation becomes cheaper and multiplies its facilities a given territory like a county, embracing a town or city, comes to have more marked community of interest. A man in town through familiarity with the embracing section of suburb or country wants its happenings; and the man in the country adjacent to the town and familiar with it looks to be furnished its news. This classification entirely local, embracing the county, is the publication called *The Town*. Aside from the printed paper, the Local movement has its bulletins, put upon the wire interspersed with the General News bulletins and the Regional bulletins. *The Town* has its further character in treating at considerable length the details of life, for readers who like all the story. Nor does it strictly confine itself to the local happenings of its own borough, but copies freely, by wire or clipping, from similar publications over the country, wherever a good story is found.

In the organic view advertising reduces to a form of local news. The reality of this is easily apparent in scanning the advertising columns of the newspapers. The Post Class publishes the arrival and departure of its mails. The Judiciary Class announces its proceedings. The various stores tell of their attractive things and novelties. The meaning of this is that each line of industry puts into the papers the news about its business. Many a housewife who takes up the morning paper turns first to the advertising column to get the news about dress-goods or groceries. Announcements of new things in

food and clothing, theaters, changes in arrival and departure of trains and mails, must be seen as a permanent feature of the news columns of all local publications. Not the least interesting news in *The Town* of any time must be the announcement of the arrival of some carloads of bananas or peaches at attractive prices. This form of news will be classified under the heads of the various industries, Food, Clothing, Mails, Transportation, etc.

The second phase of the Triangle of Intelligence is the Class News. As we have seen, it gets its publication in the different Class bulletins and Class journals, being the unified technical intelligence.

The third phase of the Intelligence Triangle, self-evident, is the Individual News, or Inquiry Bureau.

It must be seen that all publication, or news, of whatever kind passes through one of these forms. The writings of the students of economics at the Universities or outside of them, through books, pamphlets, periodicals, or newspaper publication must be regarded as ultimately coming within the one organization of news. Such a man finds his place in the News Cabinet or in some subordinate position. Writers on technical subjects place in the several phases of Letters which look after the treatment and handling of news belonging to the various lines of industry, the Class publications. A man, for instance, writing technically on chemistry gets his publication in the Class paper, *Chemistry*. All other writers of whatever kind become incorporate in the one field of Letters and have their assignments of work according to their particular qualifications. Matter of permanent interest passing through any of the several publications is preserved in pamphlet or book form.

The delivery side of news in its active movement, we have elsewhere seen, finds its place in the supply store, or distributive station. This counter carries *The Newsbook*, *The Town* and the various Class papers which have demand in the locality, like *The Weaver*, *The Farm*, *Food*, *Textile*, *The Fireman*, *Mines*, etc. It will carry

all that is preserved of literature as supplying the active demand—corresponding to the book counter of the department store at the present time. The Inquiry Bureau is to be regarded as a phase of the one News counter, supposed to carry all lines of the business. This gathers at the News-Office in the department store the several phases of the news business on the side of its active distribution.

Literature that has become dead to the general interest will, if it have any economy or interest whatever, be found on the shelves in the libraries at the public gathering place, the library being another counter of the news business, where books are rented.

Much reduction in the permanent store of writings may be expected in the development. We have already entered upon this. The writings in the Blackwood Classics and similar series, and the reports and condensations of Mr. Morley and others, have put into a few books many hundred volumes. This should go on until the line is clearly drawn between the living literature and the great dead and cumbersome mass. The novel in the unreal sense comes to be displaced as now by the new, or novel, truth that is stranger than fiction, and the unreal poetry comes as now to be displaced by the poetry of action in the report of the daily event. New advances tend to put into small compass the writings in the region of mind, morals, ethic, etc. Writings in an apart ethic and speculation in sociology fall away with the real thing, which we have seen as one with the advancing organism in democracy.

The state of consciousness of News touching the principle of its own business as sensation. The newspapers strive for sensation but do not uniformly act up to the principle underlying it. Its realization with them is little removed from the accidental. We know that sensation is the taking of the report through to unified relation in the social. The sensation in a divorce, for instance, is its relation to the well-being of the State.

Can men and women have more liberty in their home relation without disrupting life? The sensation about the "ever" Magdalene is the knowledge of whether the phenomenon is not the outcome of too great stringency in divorce, or whether it is not one of the prevalent monstrosities traceable to the disordered exchange. How many have to do it to get food? The reality involved in a man going with a woman of the street may be that the conditions inherent in the disorganization of the State are such that he cannot go with a wife. This principle, of the part related to the whole, put against the details will determine their meaning. Thus it is seen that the full account of a man's participation with this offence of the social is not told in his having been found in a brothel; the fuller fact may be that Society was found in a brothel, entirely disregarding the particular man or woman. The sensation is to put fornication upon all men instead of upon one—that is, to make the offence bigger. The news is manifestly short in consistently bringing through to the final situation. The papers are not alone deficient in their discernment of last relation, but they are deficient in the details which carry it. People want the straight detail as much as they want the straight principle involved; the former embodies the latter; the two are one. In the rush of disorganization the papers print such fragmentary matter as may come to them, regardless.

A report often mistakes irritation for sensation. The reader is irritated by the partial thing, wanting the fuller detail; and he is irritated in the absence of the principle. The reader is much fretted through the exaggerating or making prominent of certain parts which in the absence of the full matter of the report is thought to make up for the deficiency. The reporter writes in red at the juncture where he lacks the simple facts which go to complete the unity of the news.

As reinforcing the principle, we ask ourselves whether "United States Trunk Lines, Division New York Central," is not more sensational than "New York Central." And we put to ourselves whether the reporting of a strike on

the New York Central would not have more sensation if it were related to the social body by showing that it is the friction incident to the evolution of the organization of a Class in Democracy. The reality of a railroad president resisting a strike, properly related, is that he is a laborer with others of his Class but has viciously usurped authority and voice, fortifying himself in certain illegal tenets to resist the advance of the life of the State. Would not the great sensation be the turning of the tables and declaring the railroad president on strike against the advancing order of his Class and the State? The management would be depicted as embodying anarchistic elements obstructive to the whole. Further, as properly relating a railroad accident we may see that the sensation is to locate it in the organizing head, as far as he is to blame. The one mainly responsible for a railroad accident is the man who has so lamely organized the system that it is possible to have a railroad accident at all. On a well organized road it could not occur in the sense of a collision, an open switch or a defective bridge. The papers themselves incline to fix the responsibility but have divided notions about it and do not carry it through to the reality, the agency responsible for full order. In the end, the short-handed organization of the Class is responsible for the railroad accident.

It is certain that the newspapers cannot be unmindful that so far as they are now successful they act on the principle of sensation—full truth. They can but recognize that men buy the newspapers for such truth as they contain.

The Editorial results from incompleteness in the News report. Sometimes the "editorial" is such only in name, its reality being that it is a news report on the "editorial" page. But strictly speaking, the editorial stands for some deficiency in the news column; it supplies some portion of the fact which is absent in the latter. So truly is this the logic of newspaper practice that reporters are ridiculed or discharged for making their reports so complete as to

leave no room for so-called editorial comment. Good reporters who bring in the full facts have been discharged on the ground that they were trying to write editorials. Mr. Brisbane of the New York *World* in the first half of 1894 was writing a column in that paper, being a summary view of the day to the hour of going to press. He had access to the telegraphic and other reports up to the closing of the forms, and he gave some measure of unified tone to the news in a happy presentation in the light of his somewhat wide knowledge of affairs. It was found that there was little left for the editorial, or essay, page. Mr. Brisbane would put an ordinary half-column editorial into a sentence. The editors took the alarm and the column was stopped.

The "editorial" and the "news" report now conflict in practice and make the lesion in publicity. A newspaper will be found saying that its policy, meaning its editorial, has a certain tenor, no matter what the news columns may contain. It will say that its reporters are told to get the news regardless of the policy of the paper. This is equivalent to saying that it does not matter whether the facts conflict with the editorial column or not. In practice this means that the editor is frequently compelled to restate, or interpret, the facts to make them fit the partial interests which his "policy," or view, represents. It is the partial interpretation, or deficiency in news. The editorial is a factor in the divided action of the people who get their notions from the paper, since the editor writing independently, and indifferent to the full report, is more prone to make assertions inclining to partial interests.

Again, the editorial is seen as a part retention of the old notion that the "ought" needs to be asserted alongside the fact. It is the pulpit reiteration of the precept brought over to find its small preserve in the types. The editorial is the little church within the newspaper. So far as such attains, it is the preaching of the "ought" in the absence of the fact—the authoritative pronouncement. The "ought" is in the *is*—is in the full fact. For

instance, we do not have to tell a man he ought not to fall off a ten-story building ; the ought is in the fact of the action fully stated in results, namely, a fall from a ten-story building is nine times out of ten, the equivalent of a coffin. If the fact is sufficiently stated the ought, or direction to action, is in it. In general, it is to be said that news has only to state the fact in its full bearings, leaving men to gather their own line of interest and action. Neither pulpit-priest nor editor-priest can strictly know the ought for any man, as that has personal and private bearings with which they are not conversant. It might be supposed that a man ought to vote for government ownership of railroads, for instance. But no editor is justified in saying so. He can only report the fact that shows it to be the way to a general five-cent fare. The rest may be safely credited to men's intelligence. In view of the organic ethic, or freedom, based upon the analysis of will as unity in a consciousness determined by contact with life, it becomes apparent that the ought cannot be superimposed upon a man outside of his own convictions of action, as self-determined on the fact. All such is the mental degradation, or restriction. The editorial lesion exhibits in general the present brutality of news which forces personal opinion, or comment, upon the reader in his desire for truth.

The organism reveals that the movement is away from the arbitrary censorship in Letters and the other fields of industry. At the present time there is nothing in the absolute to compel the newspaper to print up to the demand. The tendency is to work out of this. A man belonging or not belonging to the regular organization of Letters who has something written may offer it to the News-Office, just as it is now offered to the less organic print, in some newspaper or other publisher. If News refuses to accept it as Letters that will be but the technical rejection of it, just as Music might reject a score or an opera presented to them, or as Transportation might reject some supposed invention in their business. But this need not end the matter should the author be dissatisfied with the position

of the News-Office. It remains his privilege to expose the writing, together with the criticism of News, in the public market place of the locality, that is, at the nearest News counter. The author may of course add any remarks he likes in answer to the criticism which News has put upon his writings. Thus the public of the locality may have access to the entire proceeding. The people may themselves determine the validity of its rejection by the Organized Letters. Anybody may read it, copy it, and propagate it, at will, short of using the regular machine of News. If it have merit adapted to the time it will appeal to men. And should the sentiment favoring it grow in the locality so that a majority of the people should come to want it in print they can compel Letters to print it, by use of the local ballot, the machinery for which is a consideration of the "Negative," farther on. By the ballot a majority can negative, or forbid, the action of News in rejecting the manuscript, and News has left to bring its action in accord with the demand. The force of this is that nothing is news in the sense of the life demand, in the sense of publication, unless the people want it. If only the writer wants it, he has it in the copy which he holds. Supposing that the writing comes finally to be commercially printed, it will be sold at any point where a demand springs up and a request is made for it. In the same way, a person whose composition has been rejected by the organized Music would have the privilege of convincing people that the Class was wrong in its rejection of his composition. Whereupon, they could demand its rendering by the local orchestra. In a similar way an inventor, painter, or other, may expose in public his work when rejected by any Class. If he can get enough people to endorse him, the Class will be negated in its action and compelled to put the work into use sufficiently to demonstrate its quality. The point is, in every phase of the State, that we are working out of the arbitrary censorship and over to the censorship of fact; the censorship of the actual test in life, the test of action. At the present time the de-

mand is for certain unity of utterance by News in its active machine, the newspaper, but the people cannot get it ; the private interest too much controls.

The advance of the State is pushing the newspaper toward recognition of its own law—its own principle of being lying bare before it. The real Letters, as standing for the organic concept, is not in control of the newspaper. This has not alone divided the people, through the resulting multiplicity of view, but it has denied them as a body the quicker forethought of the Nation as to the development in democracy. Observation must show that the orderly thought is mainly outside the newspapers trying to get expression. Old and used-up concepts become disorder when a nation is struggling to pass them. The growth towards organization has in all the Classes been hindered by deficient and short-handed publicity. The newspaper under the domination of the counting-room has the attitude of keeping the new out ; it has the attitude of restricting the quality of publicity : as though medicine or chemistry were organized to resist new formulas ; as if in practice men ignorant of chemistry should be found interfering and overturning the formulas for refining oil or for making quinine. Ideas arising in the newspaper offices that conflict with the notions of the counting-room are more often summarily turned down and the authors dismissed. Reporters and editors are specifically told that they must not in essentials antagonize the investment notion. It is the private interest obstructing the organization of the news. Such is the paucity of consciousness by the newspaper as to order in the State that it is divided in its thought regarding the underlying method of its own business, as one with all business. On the surface, it assaults the Standard Oil Company, the railroad combines, the sugar trust, etc., as so-called monopolies menacing the State, when the newspaper itself is working under a similar union in the Associated Press Company. There is no closer monopoly than this Association. To start a paper in New York with the benefits of the Associated Press requires

the consent of every newspaper belonging to the service in the City. It would be supposed that thrown against the conditions of its own growth the newspaper would in time have to recognize the principle of the organism in the State. And there is the most startling fact pressing for recognition, that the Associated Press, belonging in its function to all the newspapers that take from it, is in effect the abrogation of private property. All this is the nearness of the newspaper to an estimate of its own nakedness.

There is discoverable a high degree of integrity touching news on the side of the mechanical distribution—on the side of the types, the printing press, etc. Well-nigh perfect organization has developed here, and it is possible by multiplying type-setting machines and presses to throw off an unlimited number of newspapers per hour, and through the capability of the mail and its adjuncts send them out. Standing and looking upon the marvelous precision and efficiency of the web press in the cellars of the newspaper offices one must reflect that this feature of the news business is doing its work.

The question of whether the mechanical side of the newspaper is a part of the News Class proper may be left open. A sign pointing to the inclusion of the typesetter and the pressman in the one Class with the reporter is the fact that all such are employed exclusively by the news industry. Unlike the telegraph or railroad, which may be employed by other Classes as well as by news, printing places exclusively in the service of the latter. But, again, it is a business having its own technique apparently distinct from the technique of reporting, or News proper. The printers could be a distinct Class, simply employed and paid by News, or they could be a distinct branch of News, having in either case their own rules, or autonomy, answering to the demand of News upon them.

It is from the mechanical or integrating mind that advance in News is expected. It is the mechanical order of mind that thinks with the precision which is ac-

tion in relation to the economy of life. The mechanical method is the principle underlying efficient thought. This is simply to see the part as in active relation or division of labor within an organ and the action of the whole organ trained upon some particular office in the environment. The mechanical mind is the philosophical mind, the philosopher being only a mechanic who has to do with the larger machine—the State. Throughout the phases of life the mechanical, or philosophical, order of mind has been trained upon the building of the many machines which go to make for the liberty and action of the larger one. The locomotive, the telegraph, the typograph, the web press, the sewing machine, the reaper, we discern as underlying parts of an integrate democracy. The primary work being much along and a surplus of the mechanical mind freed for larger action, we approach the juncture where we are likely to find invention, or advance, in methods for the closer organization of the State. And it is from this freeing of mind for action in the more culminating regions that we look for invention to organization in that phase of the State which is Letters. A good reporter has simply the mechanical notion of relationship; and the philosopher, or chief-reporter, as of the Cabinet and the Regional news boards, must be expected to arise from this character of thought. The newspaper management is waiting upon the carpenter-and-joiner of fact. We have as much difficulty in conceiving the mechanical mind failing when freed in newspaper direction as we have of the Hoe press lacking the joining of its wheels and the revolution of its types.

An avenue which makes for an outmoving in the organization of the newspaper is the growing necessity for integrity in its business. The great daily at the present time has reduced the price of its issue to a point that does not pay the cost of news-service. The half-cent for which the morning paper now sells to news-dealers does not well cover the mechanical production. The newspaper on its revenue side is in the position of unstable equilibrium which has no base of support in its own

legitimate business—the sale of news. The reality of advertising we have seen as a phase of news. The newspaper has fallen upon taxing this intelligence to an extent which goes to offset the deficiency of revenue in the general news movement. The store of O'Neill and Company, New York, not the largest advertiser, pays \$100,000 a year to the newspapers. The result is that the advertiser, the distributive trade, is carrying excessive burdens in helping to support from one to a dozen daily newspapers in a single town. Furthermore, the great newspaper concerns to keep going have of late been resorting to blackmail on the most stupendous scale. A New York paper recently took from the Standard Oil Company \$100,000 on the general proposition that this corporation might some day need to have the right word said for it. The big combines of capital in every direction are, on the plea of mutual interest, understood or expressed, making a divide on profits with certain of the newspapers. Some of the big corporations own controlling stock in newspapers which are situated to forward their projects. When the Standard Oil Company some years ago was pushing its pipe line into Toledo from the Ohio gas fields it purchased outright the *Toledo Commercial*, putting its own newspaper man in charge to manipulate news in the Company's interests. Similarly, the management of the Great Northern Railroad controlled a prominent daily in Minneapolis at the time of the strike on its lines in 1894. All such are phases of the subsistence of the newspaper on means outside of the legitimate sale of news, giving force to the fact that the newspaper is without basis in normal revenue. Should anything therefore arise in the movement of things that would tend in any direction to disturb some portion of their illegitimate revenue, the newspapers would of a certainty be compelled to get together to save themselves, by organizing for cutting off the present waste of several newspaper plants all doing the same thing in one town. And in the long run, owing to the growing insecurity of the newspapers, the tendency of things must be to

compel them to the economics of one management, more than now.

The conditions that drive any line of trade to the economy of organization under one management must be the tendency of the newspapers. The conditions preceeding the organization of the Standard Oil Company were of a score of different refineries located at various points and warring against each other for advantage, the public paying the bills. The saving idea of a pipe-line to the sea came to one of the refiners and he started to put it into execution, finding that he could make it pay its way section by section to tide water. He had his first section down, eight miles. Alarm seized the other oil men who saw that the trade would not support twenty pipe lines to the Atlantic. Mr. Flagler, Mr. Rockefeller and others of the refiners got together and made the compact known as the Standard Oil Company, each of the manufacturers taking stock in the general Company in proportion to the value of their plants. Out of this combination the Standard Oil Company has improved the quality of oil and reduced the price 50 per cent. One reality of their princely revenues is that in cheapening the cost of oil they have divided the profits with the consumers, making large consumption.

A single economic idea may likewise overturn the newspaper and compel its organization. It lies, in one direction, in the driving of a wedge between the newspaper and the current advertising business. The present great flux of advertising has its source in the disordered exchange. Under the private notions of property advertising is constricted in its character as news. It is virtually the individual inquiry at the News counter, made necessary by the existing state of trade which drives individuals to search for knowledge of where to buy or sell. Advertising thus tentatively classifies as the private, or personal, intelligence. It should for convenience and economy issue in a single publication, properly called *The Want*, to contain essentially only classified advertising. The idea is in successful operation in Paris

and Berlin, and virtually draws to itself all the advertising of the city. Some newspaper, or good business man moving independently, might combine in an advertising pool the retail merchants of a city, whose interests are all in the direction of concentrated advertising, so that they may have to pay for only one advertisement instead of half a dozen. Such an alliance of merchants could, after a time, hand their advertisements only to *The Want*. This would carry the publication in its revenue until the lesser advertisers could be brought to it from sheer interest. This daily *Want* would be sold for one cent, or more, either independently, or along with any newspaper that should manipulate the move. Ordinary wants would of likelihood be published in it for five cents, and possibly one cent. This would be the business acumen which gets its revenue from the large grist and small toll, at the same time crushing out opposition because it is so near the interests of the public. No one can compete against a thing that approaches perfection in both price and quality. Such a newspaper, liable to get on its feet, would spread the alarm among the big city newspapers and they would find it necessary to combine for their existence.

Again, any State control or regulation of the great trusts which would reduce their revenue to a minimum of margin, would tend to cut off the blackmail money which the newspapers are drawing from them. So that on both sides, through advance in democracy, the trend would be to bring the newspapers together under one management.

Acting together the newspapers can, of course, fix a revenue supporting their business aside from channels compromising the news. The saving through concentrated action should alone effect this. And the very gravitation of the large organization, cutting clear of the outside private interest, would be to improve the quality of the news, so far as it freed the mechanical, or artistic, mind.

In this we face the Intelligence Trust. Made amenable to the needful general laws regulating all trusts, or

centralization of industry, it becomes the Trust of the people. It matters not what it is called, whether Government control, or, popularly, "Government ownership," of the newspaper. With "Government ownership," or control, of Carriage and Exchange, effecting these functions at cost, the power of the king for harm in other directions is no longer to be feared. With the day growing, the Intelligence Industry settling toward centralization, as of the sure end in democracy, labor may take stock of an advocate at court—the FACT.

The state of ethic, or freedom, of the newspaper. News is to-day under the domination of its own disorganic ideas and of all the disorderly features of the State. The disorganic elements, which in the growth of things would be attending to their business in other Classes, are obstructing the newspaper. If the bankers, railroad presidents, and all the components of the private interest were not curtailing the movement of the News Class and creating schism in its utterances, publicity would doubtless be found at this juncture speaking rationally and standing for advance in the organization of the Classes. The rank and file of the newspaper men chafe for freer utterance on these lines. They ask to stand more for the equalization of the returns of labor. They would find arbitration, for instance, if they were not governed by the counting-room ; many papers are abreast of this now, but there is conflict of publicity on this and kindred points. Many newspapers now would doubtless throw overboard the private interest entirely if they could see the one step further into the greater order beyond it. We may speak of the *New York Journal*, as at present occupying advanced position here. When News has more attained its organization and is freed from the friction of the unorganized element, the forces will drive it up to its integrity through its own self-interest and artistic momentum. The newspaper, ruled by the advertiser and others, cannot yet speak for the interests of the Whole as against the private concern. Publicity does not report its advertisers, does not persistently

label spurious wares in every field, from the exaggerations of the real estate man to the fraudulent medical advertiser—does not report them save in general terms. It dare not specifically report certain of its advertisers, though in some respects it goes far, as in its playhouse news. And we have seen that in all directions of the private interest it does not unify publicity. Last, the newspaper does not move to the surpassing sensation, the uncommon freedom, of reporting itself. There is a mysterious balance-sheet and certain unknown transactions. The newspaper cannot yet act up to the part of full fact-giving wherever it touches life. It waits on fuller organization for its free action, its ethic.

That aspect of the American newspaper which has brought upon it the charge of a "rawness" of utterance and lack of respect for privacy has to be sounded in its ethic, or essential right, from the side of the dynamic forces. If we compare it with the more reserved utterance of the English press, we may attribute much of it to the greater lengths to which inquiry is carried in this country. It may be thought to mark the impetus of the news over to full fact. The movement is in the direction of breaking down the barriers to full inquiry. There is likely to come uppermost out of the crush the status of real respectability. It is likely to result that nothing can lay claim to respect except the fact itself, established after the most searching inquiry in the fullest publicity. There is likely to result the status that nothing is respectable that cannot stand the day. As to why the movement should apparently have its front in America, we can but attribute it to the reach of this country. The Organic Letters quickens in the womb of distance.

Property in the News Class is function of publicity in terms of its prints, bulletins, and personal inquiry counter. It is borne by all Classes in their several divisions of labor. The News-Office may only tax for its direct support, its particular division of labor. It may put a cost price upon its goods.

CHAPTER IX

THE MEET: THE GATHERING PLACE

The Divided Life of Man. "Happy Jimmy" was usually on hand at the winter revival of religion in the village. There was a pulpit built of a row of four box-posts, with red baise to hide the preacher's legs. Happy Jimmy girded his black, knee-skirt coat with one of the hold-back straps of his wagon. The top of his coat, gaping above the belt, was level with the bible on the pulpit, which was five feet from the floor. The frame of his face showed under the scrape of the razor. He danced up and down in front of the pulpit and wore the corner box-post with the thump of his second-growth hickory, shouting "I'm a soldier of the cross!" "He's my Jesus!" He flung his head with laugh unlike earth, the boys in the gallery catching fire. "Long" Plews was six feet six without his boots, which he wore most at meeting. His larynx was fed by a pair of bellows. He called above the voices in the Methodist revival—"God! Put a hook in the jaw of the devil! Hook him!" "Coon" Gibson, from his seat crowding the pulpit, shouted, "Yes, God, stay the devil!" "More-mort" Gee, the mason of the village, cried "Amen! Hear God! Hear now!"—and the back of the seat cracked under his hold. "The gospel ship's a-sailin', a-sailin'"—brought part return to soberness when started forever from the same corner by "Twelve-mile English," in her top-throat voice, breaking on the tension bars. More-mort's hands relaxed, Long Plews' larynx released its fibres, Happy Jimmy gurgled on his bench. The "amens" were swallows in the air, with the nose of the song in one part of the church and the tail in the other.

It was noticeable that there was more religion in win-

ter than in summer. And it came to be phrased by some in the town that there was more religion when we had less work. Happy Jimmy was a tolerable farmer and grew his crop of wool. When weighed by "Sinful" Curtis, the dealer, it was heavier by fifteen cents a fleece, though Happy Jimmy swore he washed it. And a pound of dung-balls was the average in every second fleece of Long Plews' shear. The dealer said, "By Jesus, he wants religion; I'll fill 'im to the gills." He took the value of Long Plews' crops for a season as the price of a close tongue. The Sinner gave the formula to the boys of the village when he sat in front of the country store:—"You want to open the fleece of the loudest shouter at the free lunch of the Lamb; and have your witnesses 'round so he can't swear you out of court." And at other times he put it something like what has been said, when he told us that "There is more religion when the harvest of the summer thief is in."

But the dealer had in something the short view; for, more than Happy Jimmy's shouting, added to the sand and the dung in the wool, there was at least the fleece which found the spindle, and those of us who "greased" oak slabs on the hill in winter had yet to know that our "wire" pants made the part of the fact which the wool buyer had not computed in his sum. The thing thus opened, showed the dealer at variance with life. If the farmers had not grown any wool, but had loafed, or had not grown good wool, then the accent put upon the summer spoiler would have remained. When by working some we learn to believe in action, the more reluctant will we be to weigh the efficient farmer, less only his adulterants, by a perpetual void.

It is when we get the disorder and know it as something entangling a dominant order, that we find more truly the positive life of action, that may carry a deal of emotion called religion and a share of pawnbroking in terms of sand and dung-balls. We feel the force of the life that recruits enough in its integrity to carry a disrupting factor and not be overthrown by it. This farmer

had lustihood to revolt at his disorder, helped to consciousness by the preacher in the season of less action. It follows, of course, that a stronger man would separate his disorder all the time. But this did not sink the man who had fermentation to forswear the disrupting thing, though in the unreal sense of fleeing from the derelict of the cloven foot. The secret of judgment may be that we come more to average life.

The wool-buyer, likewise, had his approach to quality in action, which was the measure of his integrity. His doing was in organizing the movement of a side of the farm product. When he discounted the weight of the sand and threw out the dung-balls, he was organizing, simplifying, the movement of the wool of a farm in Michigan to the loom at Lowell; and when he posted notices that he would receive wool one day at Dundee and another at Petersburg and another day at Deerfield, and on through the week at a circle of towns, he was further simplifying and so organizing the movement of the wool. And in the season when the farmer was feeding or shearing his sheep, the buyer was ordering the arrangement of his receiving depots and matters of negotiation, packing and shipping.

And as the farmer was divided in his mind between making passable wool and trying to get more than it cost to make it, so the dealer was divided between organizing the movement of the product to Boston and getting more than this organization cost. The dung-balls and sand with which the organizer of the shipping side disfigured his doing was in his striking a cent a pound from the farmer's wool to put it in his pocket. Looking thus out over the social body it is seen that life is organized for dividing men's minds between doing and getting—between commerce and preying upon commerce.

We ask why it was that the dealer did not go to the hollow altar in winter to get on top of his nightmare? He was not often at church. But we reckon an element of integrity in him, like the farmer; he could not otherwise sustain in his thought the constancy which is judgment in

trade. There needs integrity of mind in action, though it be bank-breaking ; the burglar makes peace with his ghost of disorder by calling to himself that he is taking from those who have more than he has ; he virtually says he is equalizing life. The question followed, what method for supplanting his conflict did the wool-buyer own to, as marking a mind under control, as having oneness of purpose? In what way did he overcome his divided thought? How did he keep from going to pieces? Adjured by the preacher, the farmer cast out his devil of a conflicting element as having no place in mind—he “repented.” What did the dealer do with his evil? The answer came. He had acquired the dictum of the political economist of the schools, who says that a margin is business, that getting, not doing, is trade. The shipper had been saved by the schools ; he accepted their formula ; his conflict was swallowed up in the precept of business. He twisted as he might his disorder into the concept of order, returning upon the usual formula of minds troubled like his ; it was that the other man must look after his margin, that the robbed must rob in turn. It was in this way that the tradesman, under warrant of the economist, had reduced business to a saying and seen piracy as the rule of life.

Bringing it all together, it is apparent that the dealer disposed of his falsity, or disordering factor in mind, by incorporating it into his positive—he had brought himself to see it all as business, as the one line of action. He lied to his conscience. The farmer disposed of his falsity by leaving it out of his concept of action for a space. In season of “revival” his resolution was only to *do*. His determination was to make good wool and sell it straight. For a part of the year he did not flatly brutalize his consciousness. Underlying the mental formation of both, and making possible a center and balance in their lives, was the factor of a doing ; this bore up a deal of falsity. The life which they both led and which bore through the disorder incident to the organization of the whole about them, was an approach to an honest division

of labor with their neighbors. All they were was this: anything else was discord, or division, held in hand by measure of efficient action; it was that much less of life, as violation of the relations of men. In this it is apparent that the rupture in men's minds is in proportion as their action denies the life as commerce. The divided mind is the breach which men experience in the trade movement of the social body.

The divided Lettters. The pulpit helped a particular person get over the bother in his intelligence, and the political economist helped another one. The priest as expounder, or "spiritual director," stands for the church in life, and the political economist as expounder of business stands for the nominal man of Letters. It is accordingly realized that the preacher and the political economist, who have divergent points as the world knows them, are engaged in the same occupation—they are explaining life to people. But there remains the reflection that if they are both doing virtually the same thing, if their business is explanation, why do they not explain the separation between themselves so that men will not be broken in their minds over it by thinking that the man of Letters is different from the church and the church different from the man of Letters? If they are both essentially working parts of the same thing, the division of labor in life which is the explaining business, why do they not bring it all into one as vocation, that men may see the church as part of commerce and not ascribe to it something estranged from life, and so suffer aberration?

The wool grower thought that the church was wholly unlike farming or barter and sale—was something different than labor, or business. He looked upon the man who made his scythe and the carpenter who built his barn, as brothers, as in division of labor with him, all promoting the one thing, the life and the good of each other. The wool buyer had the commercial, or brotherhood, view of life about everything except the church; even the man of Letters, the newspaper reporter, including the professing political economist, he saw as a worker in di-

vision of labor with the rest of his fellows. The very attitude of the pulpit bore out this view ; the preacher did not charge a simulative customer with any particular thing which he had had—the pulpit was removed from pretension to business. The church, however, had come to have such life reality for men as is simulated by a presence—the spires always looking upon them. And more, the preacher had asserted upon the public occasions of the village and in his visits for money to labor of whatever calling, that the church in its restraining tenets made all men better and that the morality which its presence laid upon men was the saving part of government. The preacher has gone so far as to say that aside from salvation for another world religion is a very good savior for this world ; that it is a partner to the business man and labor everywhere, for in making men more orderly it puts money into pockets in the taxes which it saves, there being need of fewer police and fewer jails. But though the preacher came for money with his half business proposal, and so set up a division of labor and brotherhood with his fellows, he always put before this the injunction of the future salvation and the “religious need of man” and an empty brotherhood, which had no price upon them and which the world did not look upon as commerce, nor altogether take for granted as truths, yet had no speech to oppose them. It was apparent through the wool buyer’s refusal to think upon the latter that they were not significant to him, that he had no clearness about it, and so no explanation of the deeper pretension of the church. And as to the former, or the church in economies, he did not see the necessity ; it had vapory meaning. He was a good doubter, as the preacher sometime had the quality to say. And to the wool-grower these things took the form of an untempered emotion measuring a fear, told in his songs upon the country road and his outcry before the altar. To both men there was in the church a dreadsomeness which is the unknown in mind, that doubtless has not yet found its explanation for them. As the mark of this turmoil which

had no answer for the insistence of the priest, the farmer paid his church assessment, for assessment had latterly come to be the custom, men not giving freely. And the wool-buyer gave five, ten, or twenty dollars according as the embarrassment was greater and the visits of the preacher oftener. The amount they each paid was about equal to the direct tax imposed by the state on a quarter-section farm. The money came hard from the wool-grower. That was the estimate of some men of business in the village, who called it bleeding a turnip. The preacher himself said that some did not pay God's assessment with as much readiness as they prayed for grace and rain. And it was plain that if the merchant had wanted to pay his contribution he would not have waited each time for the preacher to "poke his sign in the door," as he disrespectfully put it. From this protraction in lifting payments it is apparent that these men did not believe that the church was commerce, did not regard it as having a trade claim upon them, because in all other matters they did not lag in discharge of debt.

Explanation being the business of the man of Letters—of which the priest and the economic writer were phases—the pawnbroking which he had plastered on to his business was, in one instance, this thing about the church which none could explain, dividing the minds of his fellows between action and religion. For religion, as seen, is to men all that action is not. Religion as far as men see it is not in its last meaning a doing in the sense of strict economy in the State, for which the doer might receive return—it is more a getting. The dereliction of the man of Letters, both on the side of the economist and preacher, wherein he did not fulfill his business, did not truthfully explain life, was the equivalent of the sand, the dung-balls and the extra cent of margin. Cloaked by the church, as a phase of the man of Letters, was a little business having its turn of definiteness, purporting to explain how men should live to be happy in two worlds; and a good deal of non-explanation, as standing for its indefiniteness. Finally, we see that so far as the church

gives truth to men, in so far it is Letters, and not the church; and so far as the church gives untruth to men, leading them deviously, in so far it is the false Letters.

The measure of the indefiniteness of the church, its uncommercial, or unexplained, side as the lesion of life is seen as a hold upon the people. The unexplained, or unreal, stands for emotion in men. And people count their emotions as expressing reality, until they are explained away; they come to say, communing with unrest, there is a cause for this feeling, there is something behind. And it came to be phrased as a longing implanted in man. The preacher feeling it and seeing his hold upon men, but often understanding no better, told them it was the aspiration after the divine, and pointed to that way which is the worship at the altar; and this evasion of the priest in lieu of explanation had settled into a truth. The men of Letters of the distant time had passed on to their fellows the preconceptions that gave the warrant for an institution which in an organized community should dwell apart and distinct from division of labor with the people, and engaged for the main in getting a salvation that is not of this life.

In seeking the explanation which should heal the divided man and News, we have here to return upon the path of the man of Letters. It is the endeavor to see News as no longer in conflicting phases and thus to bring commerce and religion together and into the one common channel. It is the endeavor to read out the false Letters as nominal church. We confront the romance of a quest for the full and undivided life, the romance of the exile of death.

The Symbol. The contrivance or lameness of the man of Letters for getting around the things he could not explain, either to himself or others, very early took shape in giving his own emotion and the emotion of the people some form which should pass for a true sensation and so a reality. It is meant by this that a false Letters gave to the people some shape in which to externalize

that within the mind which did not answer to any concrete experience. And this has been called the symbol in life. For the longing and unrest which was the expression of the unexplained thing in sense, the priest, as of peculiar Letters, gave men a distinct shape or utterance both in words and in things which they builded with their hands merely and not of the understanding ; gave to men "graven images." Words not always being concrete enough and lacking sensation for men, the priest reached out in the dark, we may say, and took their hands and placed them upon some object that returned a contact to them. And he would tell them, as in his ignorance he often told himself, that that object was what they were longing after, and they came to find the altar or the cross or the spire which pointed from earth a reality and the semblance of reality. And believing thus, they rested in a multiplicity of doctrines based upon these symbols. At last they came to say, the words being first put in their mouths by the priest, "If you take these things away from us you take away our lives." But the need which took shape in longing, as something men must have and which was their fuller existence, was for that oneness of mind which sees life in its fuller meaning in answer to the question "What is life?—" "What is life for?" And this is the difficult road which the real man of Letters has had to travel, for he could not engage in a wholly legitimate business until he could answer this without the symbol. And it is in this that the man of fact who sought to report life has put by the evasion which brought bread to a compromising Letters—put it by, and found lack of place. Such a man of Letters said that "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests but the son of man has not where to lay his head."

Christ encountered the designing Letters established in his section of country. When he attempted matters in the News business he found himself in conflict with the man who was selling symbols. The man of symbols had his hold upon the people in proportion as they knew no

better wares. The false prophets were at this juncture, as at other times, trapped in the net which they had themselves spread. They had been telling the people, among other exaggerations of the symbol, that God himself, the symbol of all power, would some day visit the earth. We notice how concrete they made it and how their explanation was always the physical thing, because it answered to their own measure of intelligence and because the people readily took hold upon some narrow form. Hard-pushed and in their garrulity they had told the people that God made the world, but guarded themselves by the injunction that it was an offense and a sacrilege to Him—the symbol—to ask why and to pretend to know Him. They fooled men long. In it the people had learned to look for the coming, or the incarnation, of the symbol of all power. And when the man of Letters walked in Judea with words that were nearer the people, nearer the meaning of their lives, they said the God has come. This was worse for the priest. For the people to rest in the words of the man of Letters who had an explanation, and to exalt him, was to cast out the money-changer of the spurious Letters. The false News now turned and conspired against the real Letters, which this is the meaning of Calvary.

The man of Letters of Judea, reaching for concrete expression, could hardly do less than tell the people that the mathematical figure of the cross stood at once for the rectitude of life and the centralized union of its parts. The man of Letters coming after Christ reported this as an idea which Christ had advanced and for which he was persecuted by the false Letters ; and it grew into a saying that Christ was crucified, meaning that he stood to the proposition of the integrity of life, in terms of the exact relations of men. And in any sum, the physical crucifixion of Christ, nailing his body to the wooden symbol of unity, was a light matter compared with the crucifixion of his utterance of unity, however expressed—the nailing, or narrowing, of his principle to its mere symbol, the cross. The essential crucifixion of Christ was the with-

holding of his principle of kinship from action, in its restriction to empty forms—regarding it as devoid of political significance which is the dependence of men in a social whole. And if the priests nailed the physical Christ to this symbol of unity they could not supply better mockery of truth, better exhibit of their business, as adverse to inquiry on the fact.

The people found their emotion unsatisfied and awakened anew in the presence of partially revealed truth—being as far as Christ could convey it to them. The priest, gathering what was left to him, came over to the preconceptions of the people that made Christ a God; he moved and erected the symbol of the cross, as typifying God incarnate, giving himself and the people the physical thing to put for the unknown in mind.

It was against the preconceptions of the people that made him a God, because he could in a measure answer their longing for the explanation of life, that the man of Letters of Judea had to contend. He found them in himself, following the teaching under which the priest had held them; in him they found a symbol and at once an expression that should answer to the undefined sense which swelled within. And it occurred that when he saw them put the meaning of life into forms which were apart from life he used the expression that he was the son of man, signifying that he was not the son of God as they understood it, but of the earth and earthy. And then finding that they had no word except the symbol God that should express the whole of life, and struggling to tell them that he came from the great belly of existence, he would perforce say, I am the son of God. And they understood him not, but only in the meaning of the symbol. And thus the false rendering of the priest in his physical wares carried the people away from that spiritual meaning of life which is in the principle that stands for the integrity, the interdependence, the brotherhood, of all being. Bound still to the false Letters because of their marriage to the physical word and their crucifixion of the spiritual interpretation, the symbol of many spires

has pointed away from life for the meaning of things, and divided the understandings of men.

The Brooding Idea. In publishing to man the explanation which was the principle of life, Christ in his employment of Letters went among the people. He sought the truth as the prime quality of News. And it was by mingling his experience with men that he came to talk to them in words which in some measure they understood—the quality of his art, his ability to report to them. When he sought to help a person understand the interdependence of life in the practical relations of men, he put it to him in the words of the everyday experience. This is the parable.

This getting near to people in the touch of personal contact and in terms of the experience of the individual is the last appeal, the last art of the man of Letters in the conveyance of idea to an intelligence not quick. And subtler minds have need sometimes to be brought to new life by the eloquent tongue. This resurrection of the dead idea and the lighting of the blind spirit by the intimate contact is the real miracle of the laying on of hands, which the man of Letters may ever need to employ.

Presumably, Christ knew the force of contact in the sense of the reaction of life, that ideas are multiplied by joining the experiences of men. He could find by talking with his neighbors that if principles be conveyed to men, or life in its ways of action, they return them by addition in the words of their own experience. This multiplying expression, or report, of experience is illustrated in the homely wordings of people. For instance, in the saying, "It is a long lane which has no turning," we are aware that it is the utterance of the common experience which has learned that those who do not act with a sense of honesty and faithfulness in life fall upon their own disorder in the long run, an unjust line of conduct being sure at last to confound action. The phrase was applied to the slaveholding oligarchy when it hung John Brown. The saying is the mark of an inquietude men have learned to fear

when they disrupt their minds by break of integrity in action.

The expression of the need of the interchange of experience among men as the method of publicity, or growth in truth, became emphatic to Christ in one of these sayings which impel life—"No man hides his light under a bushel." Undoubtedly, he came against the clannish and secretive spirit of his time, and he the more urged them to publicity, adjuring them to open their lives. It was by this principle of publicity that he knew, if such is supposable, that it is from the body of all the people that experience comes; and, judging his insight by his practice, he knew that it was the business of such as himself to make orderly statement of the experience of men rather than to invoke authority by the symbol. It was with one of the sayings borrowed from the people or adapting to common experience that he tried to tell them that the symbol was "a stone" and not "bread."

This reaction of mind upon mind which we know results in the growth of ideas as the expression of experience on a thousand sides of life, was the miracle of the loaves and fishes; for the man of Letters gave to the multitude who were hungry for the meaning of existence the brooding bread and roe of a principle, saying to them that life is a brotherhood—his fine expression for the dependence of man upon man. And when they had partaken of this principle in his illustrative sayings to them there came, in the utterance of the manifold experience of the multitude, a return in kind. So that where there had been five expressions of the filling thought as from Christ to the people there came back five thousand out of the variety of human action and human speech.

And if in the statement of the Reporter that he would come again he meant that this principle of publicity would yet appear in enlargement of action making for the unification of all experience, then, however short his vision, he forecast the machine of publicity and the organization of the man of Letters for the gathering and unification and distribution of knowledge. And the vision of unity in

the brood of idea is the vision of the union of democracy.

The Finger in the storm. In meeting the questionings of men about Christ, the priest had no spiritual interpretation, no unifying principle, with which to explain. He therefore fell back upon exalting him in a thousand symbols, or fictions, of his action. He wrote the physical interpretation of the miracle of the laying on of hands and of the loaves and fishes and of the turning of water into wine. In all such he reached the acme of sensualizing and crucifying Christ's utterance, for the turning of water into wine, for instance, within the meaning of the man of Letters, is that intoxication, or enlargement of spirit, which is the touching and expanding of the isolated facts of life by that principle which sees in them the workings of a great whole. The mysticism of the church is by this spiritual apartness in interpretation reduced to the great sensualism of life. People came to feel this sensualism and its degradation more than to have exact and connected expression for it. And the priest himself, driven in by the outposts of science, submitted to the advance and put this form of mysticism far away; he said that it had happened but that it did not happen any more, hedging on his falsity to the last. The form of mysticism which the priest now adopts became the kind Providence, which meant that the symbol provided for its children. And lest this statement be wrecked upon event, he said that Providence was still kind when his wrath sent the storm against the disobedience of his children; retribution made them better. But this, the halted mysticism, was still insecure; the slow experience of the people was building against the priest. Men found that the ventures of the "godly" were as often wrecked as those who had no watcher. Taught of action, they found that the symbol of the finger in the storm was not adequate; that against it, science had an answer which was intelligible. This answer was a demonstration of the immutable laws of the universe: guardianship and fatherhood, was the faithfulness of these laws to men who pro-

vide their own conformity to them. Explanation having shifted Providence to mean man's own act of providing conformity with life, action had yet wholly to disprove that the symbol had "divine" outgiving, that it did not yet play its part in the supreme conduct of life, the organization of men. Perhaps the white finger had its part in the storm of State. We here turn to the crises which test the pretensions of men and try their doctrines—we turn to the whirlwinds of human hope.

The Mystagogue in Office. Mr. Morley's "Robespierre" could well be set down here in its entirety. Robespierre is the false man of Letters, who by events finds himself projected into the affairs of men. He had become the foremost person in France. Born to the business of an advocate in the Flemish town of Arras, "a seemly but austere young man," he was elected a representative to the States General, when this body was summoned by the king to meet at Versailles on the "memorable Fourth of May, 1789." He had "a parcel of immutable axioms and postulates and was ready with a deduction and a phrase for each case as it arose." This appealed to the galleries and had its weight with the Assembly. "He began to stand out like a needle of sharp rock amid the flitting shadows of uncertain purpose and vapory drift of wandering aims." "A great crisis of the world was prepared for Robespierre and those others, his allies or his destroyers, who with him came like the lightning and went like the wind." Our reference puts him down as at heart a priest. The "bitter warning" had been sounded by the men of Letters of that time that he was so. Mr. Morley says that the suggestion was more than a gibe. He continues :

"The priest is the mystagogue in office. His own authority is bound up with the acceptance of his holy wares ; he holds the necessity of an intervener, an interpreter, and that intervener is himself. His spirit has no elasticity, no pliancy, no spaciousness. It stifles and is stifled. Decidedly Robespierre had the sacerdotal temperament, its sense of personal importance, its thin unction, its pri-

vate leanings to the stake and the cord ; and he had one of those deplorable natures that seem as if they had never in their lives known the careless joys of a spring-time. By and by, from mere priest, he developed into the deadlier carnivore, the inquisitor."

We follow Mr. Morley further in his casting of the character of Robespierre. He applies to him the saying of his contemporary of the Revolution, Danton, "That he who hates vice hates men." Mr. Morley finds that Robespierre was in the autocratic sense a moral regenerator; and this is in the sense of the symbol, that men are regenerated by empty rules of conduct, by the precept, instead of organization into action. Robespierre studied phrase, so that he is credited with effective oratory for his influence with men. This doctrinaire acquired his hold upon the Jacobin Club, with certain limits and variations the seat of his effective power,

"Not by marked practical gifts," says Mr. Morley, "but by his good character, and by the skill with which he kept himself prominently before the public eye, . . . There, a speech from him threw his listeners into ecstasies that have been disrespectfully compared to the hysterics of methodist negroes on a cotton plantation. We naturally think of those great men who a few years before had founded the republic in America. Jefferson said he never heard either Franklin or Washington speak ten minutes at a time ; while John Adams declared that he never heard Jefferson utter three sentences together. Of Robespierre it is stated on good authority that for eighteen months there was not a single evening in which he did not make to the assembled Jacobins at least one speech and that never a short one. . . . Strange as it may seem Robespierre's credit with this grim assembly was due to his truly philistine respectability and to his literary faculty. He figured as the philistine and bookman of the party ; the most iconoclastic politicians are usually willing to respect the scholar provided they are sure of their being on their side."

What is made clear by these selections from Mr. Mor-

ley's report is that Robespierre was far removed from any effective study or apprehension of the forces that at any juncture either make for order or, undirected, become "the great wheel of fire." In confronting the need of scientific formulas for the base of government, which rests in the experience of men, the mind that has been moulded by the notion of arbitrary dispensation falls back upon its one resource, the "divine" intuition, or suggestion, by men who mean well. So that the interpretations of such as Robespierre, having no part in the experience of government, take the form of authority delegated by the omnipotent. It is the exaltation of authority without authority of fact. If the course of the sophisticate Letters, the priest, has been to dissemble truth, to lean to the symbol for explanation instead of the fact, Robespierre was eminently sacerdotal. But this dissembling, it has been suggested, may be put down as the measure of the intelligence of the cleric; he acts only up to his capacity. In general, it has to be said that a man who lies is not intelligent enough, all things considered, to tell the truth. His intelligence, his mental action, simply does not rise to truthful expression in life. The mind which is conditioned in its elements for falsifying in its chiefest tenet finds excuse, or conditions, for every need that may arise to bolster an untruthful position. Such is the temporizer, devoid of nostril for essentials. For instance, if atheism in the time of the Revolution seemed to find unpopularity, then the priest would be working out his readiest character if he could attack it, without principle and in mere phrase, as opposed to the people. Robespierre measured to this. He said: "Atheism is aristocratic. The idea of a great Being who watches over oppressed innocence and punishes triumphant crime, is essentially the idea of the people." He extemporized the power which is the "terror of wrong doers, the stay and comfort of virtue." He told of the arm which is on the side of justice and against injustice. But he did not tell to men that the falsity of a God-out-of-life, long estranged from concepts of law, had opened the way for dogmatism in affairs. Nor, did he tell

them what God was. And here we reach the stature of the cleric, Robespierre, that justice and power and atheism and God were to him no more than words as symbols empty of realities, void of experience in action. How far they were words and nothing more is to be understood by how far he fell short of their quality in his action, as seen in that travesty of process, the Law of Prairial, of his designing and which was his conception of the code of human order, of the gauge of justice, when the cross-currents of the centuries met in the Revolution of Paris. Mr. Morley says of it :—

“This monstrous law is simply the complete abrogation of all laws ever passed in the world. It is the most nakedly iniquitous. Tyrants have often substituted their own will for the ordered procedure of a tribunal, but no tyrant ever before went through the atrocious farce of deliberately making a tribunal the organized negation of security for justice. . . . After the probity and good judgment of the tribunal, the two cardinal guarantees in State trials are accurate definition and proof. The offense must be capable of precise description, and the proof against an offender must conform to strict rule. The Law of Prairial violently infringed all three of these essential conditions of judgment and equity. . . . Proof was to lie in the conscience of the jury. There was an end of preliminary inquiry, of witnesses in defense, and of counsel for the accused. Any kind of testimony was evidence, whether material or moral, verbal or written, if it was of a kind likely to gain the assent of a man of reasonable mind.”

Mr. Morley finds that Robespierre's motive in this instrument was good. The difficulty of coming to this view, is the difficulty of qualifying a man's motive apart from his intelligence. Motive is supposed to be qualified, or shaped, as intelligence of the action involved in doing a thing. Our motive, we may say, is to cross a ditch, but this is an absurdity viewed aside from the means of crossing. We would hardly say that a man's motive is to go to the moon—simply because it does not include the in-

telligence of the way to do it. So a motive to justice is without elements, or quality, except in its method. The difficulty is to see how we can have an abstract "good" or "bad" motive, as a distinction in intelligence. Need we more than speak of what a man does? This instrument of Robespierre's simply shows how far he was removed from human experience, from the laws of control in life: it shows how far his reliance was upon the symbol, the emotional mold of things. If any man nurtured to the church has in his interpretations approached more nearly to the need of human life, then he is the less a priest, and more the true Letters. It is with the mystagogue that we come here to deal, an emotional cast of life. To alter the rule of mysticism, to conform to the experience of men, is to vacate the primal position of the church. With that position gone, the church has in so far passed into democracy, has in so far conformed to the rules of experience in life and become adherent to law. It is in the position of the church as illusion in politics, the aspect of masquerade in democracy, and in line of the reduction of Letters, which we have found need to record in its degradation. He who would know the wild nightmare of the end of this pretender of the symbol, who carried emotion into the affairs of men when the wheel was on its turn, has need to read Mr. Morley's great interpretation. It is the writing of mysticism out of affairs.

There was another phase of the French Revolution as set forth by Mr. Morley in which the priest was precipitated by action. This was the attempt of Chaumette to extirpate Christianity in France. "The arm of the flesh" and "the sword of the temporal power" had for a brief space come uppermost. Mr. Morley says:—

"It was the first appearance of dogmatic atheism in Europe as a political force. This makes it one of the most remarkable moments in the Revolution, just as it makes the Revolution itself the most remarkable moment in modern history. The first political demonstration of atheism was attended by some of the excesses, the folly, the extravagances that stained the growth of Christianity.

. The worse charge against the party of Chaumette is that they were intolerant, and the charge is deplorably true. The fault of the atheists is that they knew no better than to borrow the inexperience of the churchmen : and even those who agree with the dogmatic denials of the atheists—if such there be—ought yet to admit that the mere change from superstition to reason is a small gain, if the conclusions of reason are still to be enforced by the instruments of superstition. Our opinions are less important than the spirit and temper in which they possess us and even good opinions are worth very little unless we hold them in a broad, intelligent and spacious way."

What Mr. Morley doubtless means by this is that we have to act with regard to forces compelling us, and that we are "broad, intelligent and spacious" in this when we do it from attitude of inquiry, or a mind pliable to the fact as it presents itself, with a sufficient study in experience of those ways or rules of things which we denominate the laws of life. This is to reduce dogmatism to action, the church to life, or, as News, to inquiry in democracy. And the further attention for us, in the main of our concern here, is that the mind of Chaumette, the resultant of many generations of the dogmatic encompassment reared by the priest, turned and used the emotional weapons of his teachers against themselves. There is the drama of retribution that Chaumette with his dogma of the negation of religion was not the less a priest. He was a priest by resource, with his birth into matters of State. Essentially like the priest whom he punished, unsanctified of mobile experience, he did not wait in reverence upon the forces about him to find their voice. Mr. Morley in his observation here says of the order of things which long custom had shaped in the minds of men :—

"How could a solemn mysticism bred of the Middle Ages, suddenly turn to embrace a gaudy paganism? The common self-respect of humanity was outraged by apostate priests who, whether under the pressure of fear of

Chaumette, or in a very superfluity of folly and ecstasy of degradation, hastened to proclaim the charlatany of their past lives, as they filed before the Convention, led by the Archbishop of Paris, and accompanied by rude acolytes bearing piles of the robes and the vessels of silver and gold with which they had once served their holy offices."

This bruising of the church had its more wholesome meaning as a rude surgery upon the consciousness of men. We read here in Mr. Morley that "We should be very patient in dealing with the slowness of the common people to leave their outworn creeds." Mr. Morley would not unlikely say that a surgery of extirpation has more possibilities of the kindness of healing if it cut away the least flesh needful and apply some art to scientific closing of the wound. The scientific surgery for fixed ideas, including both extirpation and healing in one, is some advance in organized action which gives men more of movement, more of life and of freedom. This is eradication and healing by absorption attending healthy growth. The old fades and is forgotten. Or, if eradication by excision may in cases better be, we can still bring to the patient the advance in action or idea which gives order and stable position for mind. What Mr. Morley would complain of is the brutal opening of wounds without any provision for staunching blood or resting flesh. He would complain of mutilation by the charlatan untaught of moderation. He plainly cannot mean to restrict the license to full objective in affairs of that surgery, at times a vigorous plucking up by the root, which is his own business of fact wielding, and which gives a new life for the extinguished old.

Mr. Morley speaking to Chaumette of the need to weigh the substance of advance, makes the great arraignment of the adulterate News, the mystic church, laying the injunction that it is a call of Letters to explain the priest:—

"Instead of defying the Church by the theatrical march of the Goddess of Reason under the great somber arches of the Cathedral of Our Lady, Chaumette should have

found comfort in a firm calculation of conditions. 'You,' he might have said to the priests—'you have so debilitated the minds of men and women by your promises and your dreams, that many a generation must come and go before Europe can throw off the yoke of your superstition. But we promise you that they shall be generations of strenuous battle. We give you all the advantages that you can get from the sincerity and pious worth of the good and simple among you. We give you all that the bad among you may get by resort to the poisoned weapons of your profession and its traditions—its bribes to mental indolence, its hypocritical affectations in the pulpit, its tyranny in the closet, its false speciousness in the world, its menace at the death-bed. With all these you may do your worst, and still humanity will escape you, still the conscience of the race will rise away from you, still the growth of brighter ideals and a nobler purpose will go on, leaving ever further behind them your dwarfed finality and leaden moveless stereotype. We shall pass you by on your flank; your fiercest darts will only spend themselves in air. We will not attack you as Voltaire did; we will not exterminate you; we shall *explain* you. History will place your dogma in its class, above or below a hundred competing dogmas, exactly as the naturalist classifies his species.' From being a conviction, it will sink to a curiosity; from being the guide to millions of human lives, it will dwindle to a chapter in a book. As history explains your dogmas, so Science will dry it up; the conception of law will silently make the conception of the daily miracle of your altars seem impossible; the mental climate will gradually deprive your symbols of their nourishment, and men will turn their backs upon your system, not because they have confuted it, but because, like witchcraft or astrology, it has ceased to interest them. The great ship of your Church, once so stout and fair and well laden with good destinies, is become a skeleton ship; it is a phantom hulk with warped planks and sere canvas, and you who work it are no more than ghosts of dead men, and at

the hour when you seem to have reached the bay, down your ship will sink like lead or like stone to the deepest bottom."

The Doctor of Morals. To any one who will sit still while the daily event mounts procession and goes by, and try but to see what is in the aggregate action of men, there will come home as the snap of the lock the somewhat startling recognition that the guarding of moral precept has passed from the mystic to the fierce machine of Letters. It will be noted that the logic which is life has shot the bolt upon the priest who stood without confused as to its meaning. One does not find any longer that the preacher is accepted as the moral censor, or that moral outgiving belongs to the pulpit as of the essential order of things. When a while ago the fires of "moral" assurance broke upon a Congressman from the Ohio Valley, it was not the pulpit that most effectively lighted the fagot of invective before the largest hearing. The flame came from another tongue of odium. The stripes were laid upon this man by the "wicked" of the earth. The anonymous writers of the editorial, who see double, wasted the Congressman by red detraction in the daily press. These men, far from leaning to the Canon, hold belittling appraisalment of the church. In their private walks they poorly bridle a consuming mockery for the preacher. They encounter no retaining place for him in life, pointing to the human pew that the "sensual neck" has fed upon. These men, whose mouths are at the speaking tube which starts the revolution of the types, have a saying that the preacher had better keep out of the way of the machine. The reality of the undoubted falling behind of the pulpit is that the printed page is given out before the Sacrament can get an audience. The people who used to get on Sunday the sensation of of a bit of "moral" gossip from the preacher's lips now get it six days ahead, and if he presumes on the seventh day to publish his Transgressor in an infringement of the Reporter, it no longer has the force of newness, and he rests under the charge of pilfering from the "wicked."

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However much it may ask our sympathies, the machine has clearly gone by the preacher.

Another phase of the taking over of the care of the moral precept is the schools. We find the pulpit advocating the inevitable here, declaring the need of surrounding the child and the student in their more constant walk with the "line upon line," that used to be the preserve of the preacher, which in our boyhood was an important extermination for the levy of the tax of the church upon commerce. A phase of the University rostrum, and the schoolman's Journal of Ethics, stand for the more authoritative forms of the Academic doctrinaire of morality.

The pulpit, harrassed by this divided preaching of morals, has spoken from its own mouth in abdication of its archaic position here. On every hand we find the preacher speaking against the merely moral man, saying that anybody can talk morality and be moral, but that there is something more in religion. All who have learned to think that morality is tolerably straight action and that action is life, must take the preacher to mean that there is something more than life. But whatever is meant, it is fairly clear that the pulpit no longer claims to be the exclusive moral outgiver nor wholly the "divine" regenerator. It claims a more exclusive part only in one direction, namely, administering to that undefined thing, "the religious need of man." Then must the religious need in its essence exclude morality, and so life, while being the admission that all other work of the church has gone over to democracy. We can but reflect on this sink of pathos, remarking the narrow and miasmatic boundaries of a contradiction which the preacher in his last front has himself staked out.

The Coming in a Cloud. We here arrive at the final reduction of the apart Letters, having to do with the last assertion of the priest, to which the world finds halting answer. It is the saying of the "religious need in man," that met us at the beginning of life, and which wrung money from the wool-grower and wool-changer of the

River Raisin. It corresponds to what we have found to be emotion, answering to the unexplained thing in mind. It carries the assertion of the religious instinct in man, holding the church to be the interpreter of the "spiritual insight."

So great a master as Mr. Morley vacates by implication this position to the Ritual. In his largely enduring production from which we have set down much in this chapter, he presumably affirms this position, which is the assertion of many men and which has been the bulwark of the church. The position of a specific administration for the "religious need" must be assumed so far as one separates religion from intelligence. Otherwise, the only call of administration is the intelligence business. Mr. Morley says :—

"The base of Robespierre's schemes of social reconstruction now clearly came into view ; and what a base ! An official Supreme Being, and a regulated Terror. The one was to fill up the spiritual void, and the other to satisfy all the exigencies of temporal things. *It is to the credit of Robespierre's perspicacity that he should have recognized the human craving for religion*, but this credit is as naught when we contemplate the jejeune thing *that passed for religion* in his dim and narrow understanding. . . . Robespierre's words on the Supreme Being are never a *brimming stream of deep feeling* ; they are a literary concoction ; never the *self-forgetting expansion of the religious soul*, but only the composite of the rhetorician. He thought he had a *passion for religion* ; what he *took for religion* was little more than mental decorum. *We do not mean that he was insincere, or that he was without feeling for high things*. But here, as in all else, his aspiration was far beyond his faculty ; *he yearned for great spiritual emotions, as he had yearned for great thoughts and great achievements, but his spiritual capacity was as scanty and obscure as his intelligence.*"

Mr. Morley must clearly intend to separate intelligence from the "religious," or "spiritual," side of man. He does this by aim though obviously he has involved the two in

attempting to separate them, for it is plain according to his description that Robespierre's religion lacked only intelligence. If Mr. Morley does not intend to separate religion and intelligence in mind, then this whole and kindred paragraphs are without meaning. His intention, however, must be to separate them for he could not more straightly state it than in the following passage, characterizing Chaumette :—“ A shallow forgetfulness of all that great and precious part of our natures that lies outside of the immediate domain of the logical understanding.”

If it could be shown that the “spiritual need,” the “religious craving” in man, is a want of more logic, as unity of mind based on the experience of men, we would have reduced the church to the intelligence business pure and simple. This would take away its excuse for existing as an apart institution supposed to supply the want of man “outside the immediate domain of the logical understanding.” It would disqualify the pretense to an institution distinct from the intelligence business, which assumes to inform the “spiritual insight” as supplying the longing in man. Our proposition must then be to realize that the spiritual essence which Mr. Morley, as one of many writers, thinks is external to the logical phase of mind is, instead, the fuller experience, or fuller substance, of logic.

Logic, so far as our purpose here carries us, may be regarded simply as things realized in their ways of action. Men seek to know what a thing is, what it is for ; that is, they seek to express, or realize, their contact in some ordered thought. The answer to these questions, which all ask, makes the full logical method in the mind of the person asking them. The answer to these questions applied by any person to his contact, which is the whole of life for him, fulfills all the demands of man. If mind attains its realization in the answers which it seeks to the questions about the logic, or relationships, of life, then the longing in man is the expression of his nature or impulse to be ; and in so far as he gets life in its relationships, he has realized his being, as displacing his unrest

and longing. The denial, or non-realization, of the relationships which men ask to know about leaves the emotional in mind—mind disturbed, or unrealized, longing for the expression of unity in life. And so far as this state of mind figures a deity and a religion, in so far it is a false, or emotional, deity and religion—the falsity and depravity in all which is the worship, or living, of the inadequate, or finite, Being. The true worship, on the other hand, is the living of the fuller, or more infinite, Being—the experience of life in its more truthful action, or relationships. The truthful religion partakes at once of the infinite, or organic, life.

The last reality answering to man's longing for being as unity is the fuller living of organic relationships, living in a democracy more attained,—the fuller organic life. The knowledge of the realities, or relationships, of life of course culminates in the practice of that supreme relationship of man to man which constitutes the action of life as a whole, the State. Every phase of life has its final realization as some economy in democracy making for man's realization, or spirit. Each item of discovery, or "invention," involving the action of things, has been so much development in the logical method of life, while making for the fuller aspect of man's being. To become cognizant of how far this advance has gone to realize man's life and displace his longing we require to call up some few landmarks in the development of knowledge, or logic, dwelling on features which have been the subject of man's chief questioning. It is the study of the satisfying of man's longing. But, immeasurably more than this, it is also the study of the quieting of his fears, for fear is the counterpart of man's ill expression of his surroundings.

One phase of life marking indefiniteness and fear in the unrealized contact was the question as to the meaning of the sun. And we at once get the origin of the false God and worship. Not knowing the nature of the sun, the primitive man made it an emotional deity, that is, symbolized it with an indefinite term for power, which

was the expression of his unreality, and which we have seen the false man of Letters employed to give semblance of answer to the questions of men. The false worship, or religion, was the experience as emotion of this untruthful, or inadequate, expression of Being. Advance in knowledge has so far realized the meaning of the sun, its action, that men no longer have indefiniteness or fear regarding it. And that much emotional worship has passed away. Men look upon the sun rationally and with a mind ordered and restful. It is the common saying that men now know what the sun is and are not disturbed by it. Our notion of God has in this become enlarged; the symbolic God has passed into the larger relation, or unity—into the all-God. And in so far man has found that his religious instinct, or longing, is the instinct or longing for truth, or being.

Man looked upon the fermenting juice of fruit. He found emotional expression in the symbol and said that a "spirit" worked in it. With the discoveries of chemistry man's emotional deification of the fermenting juice passed into logical mental being. Man no longer worshipped, that is, exalted above unity, this particular of the phenomena of life. He in so far worshipped, that is, lived, the true God.

Men brought against the unexplained change called birth, and the unexplained change called death, were thrown into emotion and fear. In the one case they expressed it in the symbolic creation, saying that God had formed the offspring; and in the other by the symbolic death, saying that God had taken what he gave. Mysterious and unrealizing hand bore in the birth of a new life; and when the life had gone, the same inscrutable agency gave it wings. But with the advance of logical expression in mind in ratio with physio-logical knowledge of the animal this portion of life put off its longings and fears, save when the false Letters, through its attitude of resistance to truth, still disturbed and misled men with the assertion of something more—the symbolic immortality.

If the present life of man is the product of all change, or so-called death in life, then all life lives in him, is risen in him. And under the same law of existence, of logical unity, we know that the life of to-day, whatever its change, will rise in the life of to-morrow. This is the logical immortality as undeniable and undying as the universe of change itself. And the man who acts in the consciousness of the unity of existence as resident in his own act is in the fuller sense the possessor of the immortal life. He who thinks to substitute a figurative countenance for this actual immortality must continue to be the child of the symbolic Letters.

If we urge that there is something in men's longing more than these things—that in a supreme sense he longs for a future life and the assurance of it and knowledge of the way to it—we may find the submission that we are called upon, as of being, to exhaust such life as God, or Existence, has given us. We may be minded that the great preparation and assurance for the realization of the "next" measure of life is the realization of that upon which the "next," or continuance, is a consequence, namely, the realization of the Present. We have become aware that we do not think of the cessation of the Now, for that is to propose annihilation—a matter outside of our experience, and thus impossible of affirmation, or thought. We rather propose the Present as continuing in lawful change, or procession. Hence, our future must be affirmed as depending wholly upon the evolving Time. This is co-equally the assurance and realization of actual immortality, and the putting away of the pain of the figurative Beyond.

An aspect of man's realization is his experience of fulfillment in life. It is the aspect of fuller sensation in contact, the sensation of fuller expression, or life more infinite. Fulfillment is the law which is the impulse of life, and, conformably, the impulse of mind to fulfill itself in realizing life. This is the meaning of fruition in its varied notation. The unrest of idea, which, for instance, would conceive the hanging grape as coming no nearer

perfection than the green and sour, sets the mind in that indefiniteness which reverses stability. The attained sensation in the green grape is the fulness of its action—maturity. That is, the thing of supreme importance in mind is the portion of the fact which finds realization in finished doing. And since no doing can be conceived as complete which is isolated and without relation to other doing in life, the impulse toward the ample sensation is to ask what useful thing is doing relative to the wholeness of contact, what division of labor a thing is in the social organization. And the sensation of fulfillment beyond all, is the realization of the self in the consciousness of one's own related doing; the realization that one is carrying to the best he can his own division of labor in this larger action which is the whole. This is the more common consciousness; Achievement is life, men hold. The early Letters which published of the sermon on the mount, urged the point of *doing* if we would have the life. Political students are found surmounting the notion that men work for money gain. They latterly recognize the more adequate formulas, which are based upon the proposition that men work for the sensation which is action and which is told in some completed labor.

The half-truth that trade is the running after monetary gain needs more to have the life brought to it in the other part of the fact, namely, that men seek advantage in dollars beyond the immediate pressure of necessity because of the measure of liberty which it gives them in help to favoring conditions for realizing life. A merchant or a railroad manipulator of large gains wants money, in the main, because it frees his organizing faculty. The money he "possesses" or handles is the measure of his doing, his creation of his own infinite life. The hundred millions which a magnate of the Standard Oil "owns" represents that much life for him in the exercise of his particular quality of mind. A man pursues his dollars that he may choose employment adapted to his faculty and that he may in more conserve his action. Workmen plead that under conditions of labor that they like they

enjoy life better, live more. Men fear the benumbing lack of food, the crowding into filthy living places, the strain of excessive hours ; for benumbed by any of these things their thought is less expanding, or realizing ; men ask the life which comes from buoyancy in effort through a less drain upon of time and strength. The liberty to work in moderation and under favorable conditions underlies the method to the infinite life. The life is denied equally to the man who is benumbed by adverse state of action and to the man who is benumbed by no action at all. Men are deprived of fulfillment by conditions which drive to careless and inexact doing. A bricklayer had recently to deplore the fact that he was pushed so much on the job that his wall did not show his work. His mind suffered the imperfection. He carried the disturbance of a slack doing with him to feel, if he could not define, that the benumbing of mind and the lack of faith in life which he owned to was measured by the untempered conditions which denied him ripeness of expression. He felt, if he could not spell it, that he was out of balance in life. His definition went only so far as to make life a fraud. He was of the unbelievers ; for, doubting in the uttermost thing, he doubted in all.

Men long to grasp an essence of common meaning in the manifold of life. They thirst for the draught of sense which recognizes a common cause in the varied manifestations of existence. The realization of this is in the universal principle of action which we encounter as motion. It is to find the infinite way as displacing the symbol of a diety without attributes of action or parts—as displacing a God out of life. It is to replace the mockery of the symbol with the principle of love as agreement and guardianship as law, which makes habitat of earth and knits the broken wing. It is of the resurrection and the life. When Science came as the minister of the revelation of being the earth was dead in consciousness. Geology disclosed the movement of the dead rocks ; fishes swam in them, beasts walked in them, flowers blossomed. In the molten age the crucible of a measureless chemistry

poured the elements. Astronomy came to take the earth in eye and track it upon its journey. Physiology uncurtained the tide of artery and, with optics, the carrier disk swam into vision. Progressively, motion came to be gathered in its reduction as the equilibrium intimate in change. In the widest, life reveals itself as mode of change, mode of motion, and so mode of relation, or contact—culminating in the mental creation, the conscious motion. In the all-inclusive development of the principle we have the equalizing State—the movement which is commerce. The longing of man for realization of the uniform life is satisfied in the farthest in the logical expression in consciousness which recognizes motion as the law of existence, and existence as one with cause. Cause before being is unthinkable. According to our experience, being always was, in some stage of change—the Is. The difficulty is not to think of being as always existing, but to think of it as not existing—the Not Is. And as we cease not in our yearning after the countenance of Being, we bid ourselves look upon Motion. “God moved upon the face of the Deep.” We may find in it a fuller Coming in consciousness.

A remaining feature of longing and unrest has been the slowness of man in gaining the relation of his own being to the rest of life, marking an emotion and fear which have been the long warfare of the spirit and the flesh, the warfare of so-called good and evil. The logical expression here waited upon the psycho-logical interpretation, which understands the mental process as a joint action, or division of labor, between the sensorium and the life external to it. Man having come to the knowledge of his dependence on life for his expression, it may be seen that he has attained at once to the method and responsibility for the fuller order of his being. He has the way of fulfilling more of the longing for logical unity and the putting out of the corresponding emotion and fear. He should know that the way to his further order, or logical method, is to order life external to himself. And here it is that we encounter the

great unrest which is substance of the longing and fear in man. The disorder, and consequent uncertainties and menace, in the State has had its effect in the illogical expression, of which is begotten man's great fear of life and his yearning for rest. Man not being able to find logical expression, or trueness, in the construction of the State, not being able to determine its working method in its final reduction to order, has experienced an equivalent turmoil. In the failure to see the absolute organization of the State as based on the division of labor shaped in the rising Classes, students of all time have inwardly quaked in contemplation of the indefiniteness of life ; many such have turned to the emotional worship of a symbolic order beyond life. The revocation of a marked phase of disorder at Appomattox lifted an unrest and an unspeakable fear from the intelligence of man. The now present disorder, or slavery, of men starving about us puts a pall upon each conscience. A visitation by flood or frost over an area of country has its measure of sinkings for men ; the contemplation is of individual reverse and ruin. Could disaster be lifted and taken over by the State, could the burden of the isolated man be transferred to the whole through the equalizing exchange, the fear of men would be correspondingly swallowed up in the universal life. Men meet the waste in the disorganic transportation, and, feeling its ravage of the social, they tremble. Men encounter the corrupt legislative body and not realizing a developing order, as toward the "referendum," or fuller ballot, they are consumed by the evil—are burned of unrest, reach out to be saved from the menace. The relief, the salvation of men here, is the organic report of the State, and with it such progress in the organism that men find the on-gathering security. The referendum and a universal five-cent fare would have immediate portion of succor for men, quality of the "peace which passeth understanding."

We thus realize that the answer to the hunger of man culminates in the unity of an organized society

which shall give the universal security in life. This security approaches the realization of stability when the State is seen in its organs, of the mails, the railroads, etc., each dependent upon the integrity of the action of the others and of its own action—the inseparable whole, linked in durable interest. An assurance of this stability appears in the growing organization of the cerebrum of democracy—the organ of the integration of life, the News Class. Through the centralized intelligence democracy may act in agreement, less rent by doctrines of partial fact.

The report that we have much quoted, speaking of such deism as Robespierre's, says :—

“In truth we can scarcely call it a creed. It is mainly a name for a particular mood of fine spiritual exaltation ; the expression of a state of indefinite aspiration and supreme feeling for lofty things. Are you going to convert the new barbarians of your western world with this fair word of emptiness ? Will you sweeten the lives of suffering men, and take its heaviness from that droning piteous chronicle of wrong and cruelty and despair, which everlastingly saddens the compassionating ear like moaning of a midnight sea ; will you animate the stout of heart with new fire, and the firm of hand with fresh joy of battle, by the thought of a being without intelligible attributes, a mere creation of metaphysic, whose mercy is not as our mercy, nor his justice as our justice, nor his fatherhood as the fatherhood of men ? It was not by a cold, a cheerless, a radically depraving conception such as this, that the church became the refuge of humanity in the dark times of old, but by the representation, to men sitting in bondage and confusion, of god-like natures moving among them, under figure of the most eternally touching of human relations—a tender mother ever interceding for them, and an elder brother laying down his life that their burdens might be loosened.”

Mr. Morley writes in this considerate way about an evolution in consciousness that involved the worship of idols made with hands, conditions of growth which we

do not see could have been otherwise. There can hardly be question that the symbol was a construction which gave the people in their emotion the stability of an answering voice in the darkness, unsatisfying though it comes to be. The priest, not in his aspect of perversely crucifying life with error, but in his yearning for life, the truer Letters, has a sufficiently endearing quality to men in that view which regards him holding hands round with his fellows while all alike groped for sight. When the sun is lighted, the voice which answered us and the hand which held ours are remembered for their cheer and directing worth. And we may see that in the symbol the priest, as Letters, did his part in giving form to the questionings of men and preserving them in consciousness. We can find place for the presumption that it is in part because man's questions were symbolized by the mystic that they at last found an answer. The priest, in his leaning to Letters, has some quality of stewardship. And if it is said that when truths were pressed upon him he became the medium of Science to men, the reminder still is that then he was less a priest, less a mystic, and more the true Letters. It is life itself that writes in kindness of this part of the unfolding day. The excuse for any institution endeared to men is the fact that it has been. In so far as it has been useful and endeared it helps us to recognize that its new and democratic forms may be useful and endeared. And here it is incumbent upon us to set our faces toward that "tender intelligence" which is the fatherhood of a practical justice now working itself out in the Class organization of democracy. We turn from the symbolic kinship to see that it is passed into the practical relationships of the organized State and the commerce of men. We turn to the fatherhood of a shielding organism and to the brotherhood of interest—the hallowed constitution of life and its attachments. It is not the empty "creation of metaphysic," but the recognition that the arm of flesh is the arm of God, that the heart of State is the heart of the Infinite. The compensating struggle of

the Church is that its realities are a part of the whole coming of life and are borne on into what endures. Those who are not dead in the symbol may know that the Church, the symbolic fatherhood and brotherhood, has passed into democracy.

The Meet, the Communion in life, is referable to the economic conditions which bring people together in numbers. This is to bring under one roof the different phases of life which draw men into congregation.

As under the steeple there existed the reality which is the hunger for the explanation of life, so we may find another reality—the appetite which a person has to speak to another when some newness has come to one or both. If it has come to but one, he takes it to his fellow to commune with him in knowledge of the fact. When both of them possess the new thing they speak to each other to have the sympathy which is the communion of single interpretation. They find the sensation which is life in oneness of idea between them, since the State is so far not divided, the fabric of meaning not rent. It is the longing of man to be hallowed by consciousness of agreement in life. And this proposes the meaning of the hymn, namely, that the attuned life has burst into song. Men have thus come to say that congregational singing is congregational idea. There has not always been a steeple above this reality. In a music-hall on the Bowery the audience takes up the refrain, “Only a Plain Little Girl.” The fervor of the singing leaves no doubt about the accord of mind among the lovers of homely life. A concourse of toilers sometimes fills the square which is the eye of the chief city of the country, singing with one voice the Marseillaise. If the people can not meet for communion in one place they will in another. It is the communion that sanctifies, makes real, the place as meeting-house.

The notion of communion is the reality of the church. It is that which will endure. The idea is in action in fragments everywhere about in life, but it has to be framed into a whole. As apparent, a fragment may be found wherever two or three are gathered together with

common interest. We see it at the political meetings, in the halls, the public square, the theatres, the saloon, the hotel lobby, the club, the picture gallery, the Dorcas societies and various other church annexes, the debating club, the "ethical" associations. The bringing of these together is one of the impending economies of democracy, and provides one elaborate central place within a suitable area in country and in town.

The Meet has its central feature, to which the other parts attach. This is the function of neighboring in ideas, or of gossip, whereby people get together to hear the new thing and talk of it. It has its phases, such as the wider interest and the more circumscribed, or local, interest. The gathering which now takes precedence as calling together an intenser interest, more momentously affecting the happiness and lives of the people at large, is the instant announcement of general news. And the interest in the general news tends to heighten as people become more conscious of the State in its wholeness. In times of events in partisan politics or in an upheaving labor strike people now go to considerable lengths to get near some quick announcement of the news, like the bulletins at newspaper offices, hotel lobbies, or saloons and on public squares. The beginnings of this function of the Bulletin Board are, of course, as far back as the news instinct of mankind which calls people together. The sounding of the horn of the old stage coach was the signal for gathering to hear something new and to get it first hand. The same instinct now brings people to any public place where they can get news on the sounding of the wire. We thus write down the Bulletin Board in life, the instant and moving intelligence under conditions where people may meet and talk of the news, as being the central function of the Meet to which other aspects of the intercourse of men attach. These latter are in part other phases of the distribution of news. And there are phases in the pastimes or habits of the people which they carry on as a diversion attending on their instincts of meeting.

The Platform associates with the bulletin-board. This is the function of the spokesman, or placing of news in detail relation by word of mouth. In each community there exists some person who is readier of expression of the turn of events than his neighbors. He has happier speech and more directness of interpretation. Oftentimes this is the local preacher or lawyer, but often it is some man of quick appreciation of events who sits by the stove in a store or hotel and entertains a circle. This is the eloquent tongue, or platform, which answers people's interests in the fuller realization of the communion. It is a division of News. The platform, much as leader of gossip, will attend to its phase of News and be supplied by it to the Meets in principle like the bulletin-board.

This function takes over whatever is real of the pulpit, or church, in so far as the latter is conceived as having its part in the conveying of truth to mankind through the medium of the rostrum or, in addition, the more personal explanation. The moral outgiving having in the logic of action been reduced to the truthful outgiving concerning the movement of life, as passed to the diurnal reporter in the printed page and the bulletin, we can see that there is still left of the church in its aspect of truth-giving only that phase of explanation, or information, which is the platform.

The platform would be some room having comfort in seats and lounging places, with tables for refreshments, the latter belonging to the habits of the people who take a cup of tea or a plate of oysters when they are talking a thing over or entertaining themselves sitting. The man of abler speech comes more or less to the place of gossip, sitting among the people, many of whom will be found about as ready of word and idea as himself. Urged by occasion, the leader of gossip, as orator, may speak in the larger audience-hall of the Meet. The platform would change places for a time with a friend of some neighboring Meet or at a distance. And the man of wider repute, corresponding to the present more distinguished platform, would now and then appear.

The Archives. This is a phase of the distribution of news apparently belonging to the gathering place. A part of the archives is a collection of books, the library. These books have their character of the curious or relic and also the fresh thing as of the later prints or news, in book form, of the moving publication: in one direction answering to the story; in another, to the out-giving on economic questions and technical subjects. The further aspect of the archives is the exposition that now commonly goes with our museums and galleries; and the exposition properly draws to itself the public aquarium, from the Fisheries Class; the Zoologic Garden, from the zoologic branch of the Farmer Class; the Garden of Plants, from the horticultural branch of the Farmer Class, etc. Certain features of the archives may move about the country stopping at the different Meets for a limited time. The exposition of every kind appears to be simply so much publication of fact which, on its presentation side, is organized, or employed, by News. At large centers the exposition feature could have greater proportions; and a National center would doubtless have a permanent exhibition on the scale of the World's Fair, or "White City," at Chicago.

The Theater, a presentation supplementing news, places at the Meet. The theater in its more retaining character is the life-like rendering of the story of moment. The great plays to-day are made up of some truthful exposition more or less close to actual happening, upon which the interests of people hang. The story of the love drama upon the stage, in whatever setting, can of course never lessen; it has its added interest when it is known that it is nearer actual reproduction, or report, of life. And the theater is a function for publication of events in history which people would in some part prefer to get through a reproduction actual to life rather than the description of the printed page; for instance, the lives and emprise of the ancient Greeks, their habits, dress and homes, may best be told on the stage. Belonging to the theater is the dancer, making instrument for the interpreta-

tion of the poem of human form and movement of all time. And we know that there are the exaggerations, or eccentricities, of life which make a part of news often better told upon the mimic stage. On the whole, the stage appears as a distinct division of labor with the playwright, being the essential public utterance of this unquestionable phase of News. The actor may be regarded as distinctly placing in his own technical field, the Player Class. This Class is related to News as phase of publication.

The Musician, as technical to the Music Class, attaches to the Meet. The orchestra is, of course, distinctly a feature of the gathering-place of the people. When not engaged at the theater or otherwise, it performs in the spacious lobby of the Meet. In addition to the later music which has caught the town, there is the old that is ever new and which is played in supply of the demand of the public. This employs musicians as from the division of Music in the State. The orchestra would supply the street band on occasion of the public outdoor gathering and procession. We find, as now, Wagner and Beethoven nights, etc. The orchestra could exchange places some with other orchestras at distances, thus giving people variety of directorship and execution in their music. Beyond the orchestra, there is supplied local and the wider-known singers of repute and the occasional large symphony concert and opera at the theatre.

Athletics and Sporting. The gymnasium and bowling alley, etc., locate at a central gathering-place like the Meet. The bathing tank and Turkish bath are naturally found in connection with the gymnasium. The yachtsmen, horsemen, gunning, and other "outing" interests have their clubrooms adjoining the gymnasium.

The Lunch-counter. Convenient to the lobby and to the corridor promenades of the Meet we find a feature of the restaurant. People can sit at table within ear of the music and in sight of the bulletins, while served with coffee or other drink and with food. This is the union of the an-then and the oyster-bar.

The property of the Meet conceives as an aggregate of functions made up of phases of distribution from a number of Classes. These are in the first instance the bulletin-board, as phase of the direct delivery of News. And since this is the central function of the Meet, the first and important thing which calls people there, it supports its service by the tax which is the general admission to the Meet—one cent, say. The other functions each have their supporting charge. At the theatre we buy a seat, a box or an admission to the promenade gallery. In eating or drinking we pay for what we get. One buys a cent ticket for the bowling alley ; a cent ticket to the exposition archives ; if a book is drawn, a cent is paid for that. The talk-room and the orchestra appear to belong to the general admission, the Music Class and News getting their pro rata of the receipts. Architecture taxes all these for the expense of the building. The support of the whole thing is like the support of the general distribution store. We pay at each counter for what we buy, each item of distribution having to tax sufficiently to cover its own running expenses and as increased by the tax, or rental, which it pays to Architecture for its housing. We find thus that each of certain Classes contributes a phase of its distribution to the Meet—as News, Music, Food, etc. It is a distribution station of its kind.

The Ethic of the Meet. This is the freedom in life which is the effect of the organization of this supply of demand. In an important attribute of its ethic, people's minds need no longer be divided over the notion that the church is something of itself apart from the one central and organized source of truthful outgiving, of which the bulletin board and the platform at the Meet are phases. Men are this much freed. For the several functions of the place, their ethic is in their convenience and general economy, organizing all occasions of gathering under one roof at a central point, and forwarding the essential service and comfort of the people. There comes in the added freedom through contact with the æsthetic, or beau-

tiful, comprehended in the notion of design and co-ordination in the building in its ensemble. The skill of the builder reaches its climax in the creation of the meeting-place of men. As in all time, the haunt of the people is raised in the best contribution of art by painter and sculptor. Its modulation of line and color melt into human lives. We see bronze doors cast in pictures of days : one panel has a telescope upon it ; another, the fleet of Columbus ; others, a Guttenberg Press, a plough, a loom, an older temple, a sheaf of peace. The doors open upon seated nooks, on pillars of Italian marble, on walls of mural decoration in the stories of the locality. Music falls through leaf and tapestry. In niches stand Hegel, Beethoven, Watt, Lincoln. The promenades are down rows of palms to gardens under glass. The temple of the people ministers unfailing benediction : its doors ever open, its lights invite nightly ; its bulletin, its beating soul of commerce, is never stilled.

The reduction of the pulpit to the single platform on the lines indicated is at present apparently taking form in the impulse of the people toward the one central meeting room, seen in the Central or People's churches growing up in each considerable community. These have their "independent" minister, or with sect purely nominal. The Unitarian and Universalist pulpits are practically without sect, except in name. The business of the several movements is to get nearer life. All of the various departures indicate the tendency toward the one platform, as news, at a central meeting place.

In another direction we may see a like reduction to news, as embracing life. News in its broadest aspect is the moving contact, or truthful experience. The reading in the bulletin or other report of an over-due ship coming into port is simply so much life made contact through the wire. It is also made contact by visiting the docks. The reality of both is the same—life. So that wherever we see the people and pulpit drawn from the symbolic church, going over to the sensation in the church actual,

or life, we find the dead thing reducing to the reality contained in any truthful contact, whether through the bulletin or other phase of the moving news, or through seeking closer and more active relation to life. The latter may be the Sunday trip to adjoining parts ; it may be the diversion of work in the garden, at photography or at the bench and laboratory. In this reality a man, a dentist, has built his own racing yacht, working Sundays ; another, a writer, has made much of the furniture of his house, working Sundays and other times at his bench in the attic ; another man, a bookkeeper, works with kites ; one cooks a Sunday dinner ; one works with electricity ; another dissects the animal body and experiments in physiology : all, as finding the life, or church actual, and as discarding the figurative and vacant thing. And the further tendency toward news, as the actuality of life, is apparent in the discarding of symbolism for the Sunday paper or other print. In relation to all these the ill-contained utterance of the decaying pulpit indicates the losing fight to retain its symbolic hold upon men. The more static preacher speaks against the Sunday outing and the Sunday paper ; in evident alarm it warns its pews against the growing encroachment of life. The more advancing pulpit finds these not antagonistic to "grace," and does not scruple to turn its platform upon the hour, indicating in this the movement over of the virile pulpit as news side of the church.

For those who, under retarded views and habits, feel alarm at the indications of the tendency of the church toward absolute reduction to the State in the one common phase of truth-giving, Letters, and in the living daily communion, or congregation, the Meet, there is the reflection that the tendency, whatever the form, is toward full truth and fulfillment in life, not away from this. We remember that we "do the will of the Father ;" but this is to do all good things,—and the latter make the organized social, passing us over to democracy in its several economic phases of the brotherhood. In the kind un-

folding there is less of pain; for, with the coming of newer forms the old has yielded active place. The quality of this is that old forms of the church cannot be torn violently away from men, for, as they grew, they will persist while men need them. The very meaning of the talk-room at the common gathering-place is as the chapel for such uses as all may require of it. Worship being the living of life in the enjoyment of its flavor of unity, the chapel at the common gathering-place is pre-dedicated to worship of God by men. And should peculiar forms persist, not consonant with the democratic presentment of truth, but requiring peculiar instruments, these can be supplied in some separate room, set apart. For whatever the demand is, organized architecture supplies. And did the common voice at last push away all peculiar forms from the more democratic place, there is left the private chapel, or church, adjunct of some private house or grounds, and supported by common subscription of its members. It is always, as now, that men may have as many peculiar chapels, or churches, as the members and the public are willing to support by subscription. When it is asked where the money for this is to come from it will be recognized that more than now the organic exchange will supply a monthly average to every man something beyond the present amount. And the need for the larger sum is less, because of the minimum expenditure on the chapel itself, in its rental and the supply of its heating and lighting, and because there will be no salary to support. For the preacher we have some layman of an eloquence fitting the requirements of the members, but having his regular occupation, exacting but a quota of his time and returning him full support in common with other men. As the symbolic worship had its beginnings in the remote time in the private communion room, or chapel, so in its narrowing usefulness it returns to this.

CHAPTER X

ARCHI : DESIGN

Archi (Architecture) is referable to the notion design, as of agreement of color and form. The sensation of the inquiry into this division of labor is the gathering of its different phases under one head—now scattered in partial organization throughout the State. The sensation, like that of the other divisions in the State, is the apprehension of it as a complete organ of democracy. The controlling aspect of the division Archi to which the other phases of design are found to subordinate, lies in the direction of that demand in the State which is next in importance to food—the function of shelter, or housebuilding. And this touches and draws to itself all design when regarded in the practical sense of the actual construction of the house or building in its every appointment, which is to be seen as comprising the form and color of the interior in both its walls and furnishings, and of the exterior and its appointments, including landscape. Design in the decoration and furnishings of a room has to do with the interior projection, or relations, of the house. Design in a tree or a lawn or a fence has to do with the exterior projection, or relations, of the house. So that we have embraced at once in the general view of the function of Architecture, the design and construction of the building, its interior decoration and furnishing, and landscape gardening as an exterior harmony. It must be seen that these are necessarily included in the notion of centralized design as house-making, and are under the direction of one head, the chief architect, else there could be no harmonized setting of the building as a whole, interior and exterior, at one with the complete town and embracing country. How absolutely these are comprehended

as phases of the one centralization becomes more clear when each is dwelt upon in its detail. And how far design as house-building reaches to everything that may affect the harmony of its make-up, even to the covering of a book or the embossing of a hair-brush, will appear in the specific demands of the home or other building, including meet, factory, stable, storage, power-house, department-store, steamer, railroad car, wharf house, station. We may here bring to attention the elevation, or shell, as primary in the building, while seeking the conditions of its interior and exterior harmony.

The conditions of proportion, or form, in the exterior of the shell. In the first place, we see that the building must not be too tall; there must be proportion between the height and the ground plan. And then we say, thinking of the harshness of a sheer upright face, that there must not be too much abruptness in the rise, or between the ground and the tallest part of the building. The more primitive buildings of America, the log-hut, owing to difficulties of structure did not often offend the principle of form by being too high. The offense against proportion was that it might be run out too long upon the ground; also, owing to the conditions of easy structure, it generally offended with abruptness of face in the gable, or end, being a sheer rise to the peak. And, proportion was offended in these primitive structures by the windows and doors being too small—a fault which still generally persists. Windows were either made just big enough for one sash or they were made only big enough for two narrow sashes, one above the other, which made them too high. But sometimes when conditions of space and convenience of construction required these two sashes to be put side by side, and not one above the other, a good proportion would be the result, a broad window in a low side under a low roof. And oftentimes conditions would similarly proportion the door and it would be sufficiently low and wide enough, as fitting the low side. The structure melted downward to be enfolded by the earth. As ease of construction grew, boards and timber

becoming plenty and cheap as the product of saw-mills on the water-courses, the buildings began to run up somewhat and often took the disproportion of too great height. Window-glass coming a certain shape and size and the custom growing, carpenters began uniformly to make the windows about twice as tall as they were wide, when they should be approximately square or wider than they are high. And the notion became fixed of the tall narrow window supposed to fit the tall house. Examples are many all over the country of this disproportion of window, with abruptness of the sheer upright side and end.

Later, as the carpenter trade began in its earlier stages to organize, taking on its contractors, or superintendent-builders, modifications in these shapes grew up. The superintendent-builders, standing for the architect supervision, looking at the sheer upright gable-end felt its abruptness and made the modification of retracting it, or sloping it off, with still the disproportionate tallness in the mass of the building itself and the still precipitate face. Following this bit of advance it began to be common to see the narrow windows put side by side, having the effect of one broad window, a fair correlation in this item. Then the devising builder felt further the disqualification in his work, and we find a growth in the plain, square building with modified abruptness in the gable and making for the evolution of the flat undulating roof. In natural course, with the habit of Southern people sitting much out of doors, the broad veranda grew up around these square buildings; altogether, when the square structure was not too high, the general effect was of some advance. The building trade progressing further in its organization, a phase of the constructing-builder found himself occupied with multiplying designs—the growing architect, sitting among his draughtsmen and surrounded by the practical outcome of his work. Sameness bore in upon him and he labored for variety. Out of these grew the shingled sides and half-sides, the rough-stone first story, the hospitable

porch ; and with the better designer, or architect, these began to conform to the principle of a good proportion in height, width and length, and also the general plan, or principle, of modulation in form of elevation. The latter tended to verandas above and below, recesses and nooks, the attractive face and the simple roof, all lending to the general effect of snug fitness as embraced by the ground. These modern buildings are often overdone in some direction by architects who are not architects, who cannot attain to proportion or moderation in their designs.

We readily see that the fault in many modern buildings, alongside the evolution of some good ones, is due to the fact that there is no central supervising control as a whole and by heads of departments in the Architect Class, as enforcing the advance in the business. Through lack of this the skilled carpenter, belonging to the ranks, in many cases has presumed to designing ; under proper organization he would keep at the bench, not alone to the comfort of himself.

The further organization of the external building, its further agreement beyond the bare shell, makes design in color. A consideration is that color has its own organization, its own design, coming under the general notion of its related contrasts and its subduing or modification. This comprehends the recognition of the place and fitness of a color, with the treatment of a primary color, as in tints and mixtures. Lighter yellow and deeper, or orange, may be said to be design in color, original pigment considered ; so also pink and turquoise-blue and brown and their shades and tints. And there is the sense of how colors in a given bulk and contour of exterior adapt themselves to the colors and bulk of the surrounding buildings and landscape. In general, the embracing picture has its color in certain low or subdued tones. The intensity of color, or contrast, in the building cannot rise above these subdued effects. It is plain that a glaring white, set out by green blinds or other trimming, does not fit the gray road, the seemly sky, the green grass and

leaves, turning to yellow and brown. The large effect of the building has to be conceived as part of this encompassing color. In this direction has been the organization or development of buff and tan colored brick, and the staining and painting of roofs and sides in pith greens, russets, orange-brown rusty effects, etc. The evolution of this is that somebody detected the weather-beaten effect in wood and the aging of colors. This is but design developed in the ways of nature—and as a matter of fact some houses now are neither stained nor painted but are left simply to the soft penciling of time. And it is seen that there are cases of happy contrast in the body of a house itself, breaking its upper and lower bulk into two shades of one color. There is in cases a permissible contrast with what may be too dull conditions in the surrounding landscape, as giving a house a dull-red roof, or picking out the windows in white. This has lighting effects when put against bleak surroundings, or otherwise where design so weighs it.

The elements of proportion, or form, in the interior of the shell correspond in leading particulars to the exterior. Obviously, it is a matter upon which the exterior is shaped, or built. In the first place there must be the proportion of height, length, and breadth in rooms. The primary building, as the log hut, owing to the conditions already stated, seldom offended as to proportion in height of rooms. It was generally in the drawing out for length or breadth, to obtain space, that the disproportion occurred. But in the happy economy of not building too large a house a very decent proportion would be had in these three leading particulars of room dimensions. Yet there was commonly the internal mal-relation of window and door, as a parallel to the external. Yet the two or three low windows were often on the side of snugness, which had advantage over the modern room cut up by excess of tall, narrow openings.

Without following it further, it may be suggested to the observer that the growth on the whole has been away from what is narrow and pent or too great measure or the

obtruding or the flimsy—toward wide doors and windows, square halls, low fireplaces, broad winding stairways, natural wood floors, and built-in shelves and seats. With this as setting, the fuller interior is to be considered directly from the standpoint of decoration—the further harmony in interior effect.

Design in the interior decoration and furnishings. In general tone or logical mode of color there must be in the first place no wide contrasts with the exterior. The one must open into the other. And while there may be different contrasts as of each room in itself in its design and furniture, in the large, there must be the likeness in this contrast which is relation in the sum of the interior. Considering the interior as entire, in line with suggestions given we look for square halls, low fire-places, broad winding stairways, wide doors, low, wide windows—in some cases slightly “bay”—floors of narrow boards, seats and shelves built-in, gas brackets from the side and not the ceiling; and awnings as giving greater space in interior in warm weather. Considering an individual room we determine, as with the outside, that there must be no conflicting colors in the room itself. That is, the variety of color in the room may be modifications of a single color, beginning with the floor as of the deepest tone, while the general note in the design grows by step lighter toward the ceiling. In looking at the walls the first item is to overcome the abrupt rise—to break it into the ceiling. The architect in his evolution found that to throw the wall into two parts would meet this requirement, giving distinctions which make the underlying reality of movement, or relation. And the further handling is to set the parts in proportion, as of fuller movement. In this, the architect finally determined that the division of the wall was to make the upper portion one-third the distance from the baseboard to the ceiling, or approximately this, depending upon modifying conditions of the wall and room. If the room is unusually low, the measure would be less. It was found that this satisfied the sense of proportion.

Like other instance pointed out, we see that it is because the working head of Architecture as a whole has not yet come into existence that this principle in decoration cannot be enforced by the better designers. It is only occasionally found in a room, where some master has touched it. It is due to this disorganization that we have the varying widths of paper borders, or friezes, now met upon the market; and very few of these papers in the regular trade answer to the principle of design in the proper breaking of the wall.

Looking further at the room, Architecture has found that the wall must determine the general tone of color, that being the predominant, or more bulky, view. And in this the lower two-thirds of the room is the wall. We may speak of the upper third as the frieze, the picture-moulding coming between the two. To get the movement we may suppose that the wall, or the space below the picture-moulding, is a deep buff, controlling the one scheme of color for the room; the floor, as darker, approaching a tan brown; the frieze, as lighter than the wall, modulated to a lighter buff; and the ceiling falling off to rich cream. The woodwork, natural or painted, may be the color of the frieze, bringing down a little of the lightness of the upper portion of the room. If natural wood can be made to fit in with the general design of any room it is better than paint; it can, however, be stained in oil the proper color and still retain the grained effect of wood.

The design of the shell of the building as a whole may now be said in its parts to move together. The further design, based upon the general harmony, must be to guard against the introduction of anything into the room that conflicts in form and color. Beginning with the floor, to again build from bottom up, simplicity suggests that the rug or rugs can have two modifications of color, rarely more, unless in the antique, harmonizing in prevailing tone with the floor and wall. The window trimmings go as three pieces; first, the sash curtains in the texture character of crepe muslin, modifying the light and view

from outside, and which, in the room mentioned, would be a cream color ; second, the roller shade, which in the same room is buff holland, like wall ; third, in effect of added warmth and seclusion, there should hang at each side of the window-casing, from the top to within an inch of the floor, velours or denim curtains, for instance, darker than the wall, but in the same tone. These curtains may be drawn together on their simple brass rod when so wanted ; and there is the effect of possibility and movement as they hang straight down at the sides of the window, just clearing the casing in their drop. Allied to the windows, the passage from one room to another may have portieres corresponding to the curtains. In wide doors there are two, one at either side. They give a line of color and softness against the rigid casing ; and, when drawn, they afford seclusion without shutting the door. Hanging between two rooms of different colors, each face of the portiere must correspond to the design of the room in which it shows. Often one color harmonizes with both. Windows and doors may be relieved above by a fretwork of natural wood, depending upon the conditions of the room, which the practical eye of the artist would determine. Other possible accessories of the window are the awning, the flower-box, and the window-seat with its cushions.

Coming again to the floor, we have to consider the furniture proper. Though a house may be heated with steam or hot-water or hot-air, it is of comfort to draw up to an open fire, either of wood or coal or gas. The furnishing of this feature is a mantel. The woodwork part of it will correspond in color to the woodwork of the room ; so also will the tiling. The mantel is of the stationary furniture of the room. And in general it may be said that the more furniture made stationary and designed as a fixture in the room and looking a part of it the better will it be. Such should be a broad divan in a nook or corner ; the seats at windows, in a recess or down a side ; and the shelving for books, these the color of the woodwork. As to the movables in a room, this

depends upon its use ; a living-room, dining-room, sleeping-room or other, would have its special furniture. The rule is that the furniture should be proportioned in bulk to the size of the room, of a wood and covering in harmony with the room, and of simplicity as to form. For instance, the buff living-room which we are considering would find movable furniture in an oak table, low rattan chairs, a leather chair in natural tan, etc.; the divan and seat covering would be the color of the curtains and portieres, while cushions tumbled upon them would have any tone of yellow. The walls in their restful plainness will carry in their fuller plan a few touches of color and form, such as half a dozen small plasters tinted in old ivory and half a dozen pictures on the order of photographs from nature, or etchings or some little piece of landscape painting. Some of these are preferably in *passepartout*, with others in narrow frames of natural wood. Or a frame may be painted ivory white, on the score of livening up the room here and there. And in the latter count a few yellow roses or jonquils may lean in a vase, and the table will be touched with its necessary articles in Japanese ware and the fine bits of coloring in the book and periodical covers of the day.

A final consideration is that of the lighting of the room. The old chandelier from the center of ceiling or a light otherwise high, gives place to something low from the side of the wall and upon tables. The light upon the table in the room before us should have its shade of orange, and so of the effect of any other light.

In general, excepting doors and windows, it can be said that nothing on the walls may protrude above the picture-moulding—this on the concept that the wall proper ends at the moulding. More truly, the doors and windows do not protrude above the moulding ; they have, instead, the happy logic of breaking the sameness of line. Hanging a thing on the frieze, above the picture-moulding, would have the effect of hanging it on the ceiling ; frieze and ceiling are both one. In large public buildings where the chandelier appears still to have its place as a necessity of

lighting, advance architecture has much modified the antagonisms.

Design, as reaching all correlation of form and color, shows a movement toward centralizing under its logical head, Architecture. The line of development, or organization, here, in which Architecture tends to draw to itself all phases of design under one management, is already well indicated in the business of certain leading architects and decorators. A signal example of this is the architectural business of the Louis C. Tiffany Co., New York, carried on under the sign of decoration. But where opportunity offers Mr. Tiffany has taken charge of the construction of both the exterior and interior of the building, including its approaches and surroundings. There is found such a building, a dwelling house in brown brick, put up under his charge at 72d Street and Madison Avenue, New York. The surroundings were beyond his control because the structure had to be built jammed in among other buildings. But he met the conditions presented. The house more strictly, from beginning to end, was in absolute control of the head of Architecture, conceiving, for our purpose, Mr. Tiffany's business as such in this country. In another instance, a public building, the Lyceum Theatre, New York, Mr. Tiffany had sole charge of the interior, and this part would repay a visit as example of the achievement of centralized Architecture.

Consideration of the more detail construction, through a central head, of these two kinds of buildings affords illustration of how widely Architecture reaches out to incorporate in itself all design. For example, given a room, Mr. Tiffany commonly finds that the wall-paper upon the market cannot be made to harmonize; he cannot get the proportions, the plainness, and the color. In these cases the Architect has had to go to some of the wall-paper manufacturers and deliver to them special designs for paper, the manufacturers simply doing the technical part which answers to reproducing the design. That is, they use their skill as manufacturers on designs coming from the Architect Class. In other instances the Archi-

tect had to apply to a textile manufacturer, like the Cheney Silk Company, of Connecticut, for the make of hanging to harmonize with the design in hand. The stained glass for windows, for hanging lamps, mosaic work, etc., was under the direction of Mr. Tiffany as head of Architecture, in his own decorative glass establishment at New York. Of course the builders, plumbers, painters, etc., working on the building were strictly under the direction of Mr. Tiffany and his agents. In pianos going into rooms, Mr. Tiffany has exercised modification of the casing, where design required a change to plainness of form and appropriate colored wood. And the same of other pieces of furniture. There are not a few instances, taking New York and other places, of decorators who have combined with architects and who, working together, make example of architectural direction from a common head which looks through to the completion of a building from its foundations. There are instances of the construction of buildings where Architecture directs the design of book-covers that are to go into its rooms, the book-bindingery working on these designs. And the more advanced photography, under suggestion from decorators, is creating its pictures in tones to fit given schemes of color in rooms. And designs in the tailoring of men's and women's apparel have in some ways been dictated by the general demands of the color and fittings of abodes. The tendency in design of apparel of general wear is to make it in a subdued plainness and modulation that fits the prevailing colors in landscape, thus primarily fitting the shelter. The growth in the demand for tan-colored shoes is another illustration of this. The tan shoe, simply, fits certain schemes of color in apparel and abode where black does not. The intuitions of people recognize this and buy them, once they are furnished. And from whatever nominal source the design comes as subordinating form and color to the abode in any part of life, it must be understood as in reality springing from the Architect Class, that is, from the design industry.

We thus gather that in the growing economy and organization of things all design has to emanate from the one centralized division; in the end all form and color must locate its action in Architecture. We have seen that this is true because in the ultimate all form and color have to harmonize with man's dwelling-place or other form of shelter; and because the economy of life demands a single unified organ for all phases of the same business. Reflecting the latter, we know that if publicity or transportation must centralize, then must any other industry—then must design centralize. Pursuing this, we come to place and make real in the organization of life that part of design which relates to the brush and chisel, or painting and sculpture, commonly called Art, but which is purely one department of that art which is Architecture.

The relations of the painter and sculptor to the Architect Class. It is required to raise this up for special consideration because of the exaggeration, amounting to fetish, that has been built around this side of design, seeing it as something distinctly of itself and separate, as it were, from economic life—something “inspired” and not amenable to the laws of other art. But for this, effects in painting and stone might be passed with a word as one with designs in glass, wall-paper, hangings or book-covers, belonging to the harmony of the building. But the reduction here is easy, since the tendency of this phase of Architecture to organize and subordinate itself to the central idea of design has developed in such degree that it can already be seen around us and needs only to be pointed out. Mr. Whistler in his decoration of the famous “Peacock Room” in London, and his one-time decoration of the Exhibition Gallery of the Royal Society of British Artists, brought the painter into the central function of regarding the harmonious shelter.

It is sufficient to say of the Peacock Room that it was ordered comprehensively on the scheme of the blues, greens and bronzes of the peacock, agreeing throughout from floor to ceiling, on the principle of decoration which we have gone over. We may speak more exten-

sively of the salient features of the decoration of the Exhibition Gallery.

Mr. Whistler had been elected president of the Society of British Artists. At that time he was in a sense unofficially the head of decoration in England. Before his time the custom was to completely cover the walls with pictures and without any attempt at harmony between the pictures in their frames and their general setting, the room. The prevailing color of the room was the usual red, being the background for the gilt frames, while the woodwork might be any indifferent color. Mr. Whistler made the controlling color of the wall a pale tan as fitting the general tone of the pictures and their frames. He dyed the carpeting a dark brown, on the order of the deeper tan. The upper third of the wall, the frieze, was a lighter tan than the body of the wall. The ceiling was mostly glass, hung with the customary canopy of the galleries; this canopy he made a pale yellow. The woodwork, including the picture moulding, was treated in burnished gold bronze, as a projection of the frames. The pictures Mr. Whistler hung in single and double rows, below the picture moulding; where pictures were high and upright, he hung one; and where they were oblong and low, he hung more. The general effect of the hanging was more or less ease of line and absence of crowding.

Mr. Whistler as decorator, and, for our purpose, virtually of the Architect Cabinet, superintended and carried out in each of these cases the complete unity of the business, and the subordination of painting to Architecture. In the Peacock Room, Mr. Whistler selected particular etchings and paintings of his own that had special fitness in color, size and form with the design of his room. He has invented frames for his pictures, that have been much copied and that bear his name. These frames have special reference in size and color to the pictures, and are also designed in reference to the wall on which they are to hang. They are distinguished for an absence of exaggeration and deep overwrought moulding and figuring, having rather the prevailing effect of flat, plain sur-

face. The frames of his etchings are usually white and of his paintings dull gold—though to fit a picture or wall he has sometimes, for instance, stained the plain wood of the frame in dark green or dark blue. This sufficiently points out the tendency of “art” toward its reality as realizing the painter in the State.

As the painter cannot get away from his medium, practically told as the agreement in Architecture, so the sculptor must find his place in meeting the correlations of life, being at one with them in his creations. The question is, Do we find sculpture moving in affinity with its medium of form and color, as practically centering in the shelter and the conditions of its accord? The action has been from all time that the chisel beautifies in stone and wood some part of the building and its surroundings. The carved column belongs to the whole order of the building. The notion of heroic size in sculpture but aims at affinity in large surroundings. The small form fits the lesser room or place. The reproduction of any form can only have purpose in bringing ordered life to us; it cannot be conceived as inverting the congruity of man’s contact, shown in the homology of his shelter.

In Madison Square, New York, there is a piece of chiseling. It as much moves, is as kindred to its place, as is the footpath, the wind among the leaves or the bird singing near. We hardly regard it as coming by proposal of man, so unstudied is it in pose and placing. It does not appear to set a space apart or to do other violence. It but comes into the place to stand near men. It returns an action in the process of liberty without stiffly obtruding a personality which was intimate to this action. Its feet, taught of wind and deck, are made part of earth on a nook in stone, wave suggestive, with the shadow of sisterhood and with the kindness of a bench. In its simplicity its pedestal is more created of the sympathies of men. There are other “chisels” in the park, but they do not move, as touched of place and warmth. Nor are they wind and wave sung. Their inch is that meanness of grace which is mutilation. We pity their distance from

men. The framer of the Farragut statue was told better by the ground. This single illustration may serve to indicate the tendency of the truthful and advancing chisel, to affiliate design.

The ethic of Architecture speaks in the various phases of organization which its action contributes to the State. As of some concern, we may first ask the specific ethic of the painter. He should know that this is to relate himself to the one organization of Architecture, that he may find freedom in his action. Painting being recognized as a division of labor in Archi, the underlying ethic of the painter is to get his governing notions from the relation of his action to life, that is, to the demand of the abode as the central idea of his business. When Mr. Whistler, for instance, lines the concept of a picture out of nature he primarily asks himself how it will fit a frame, and this is in fact the rule of all pictures. Or we may say that the painter's instinct asks whether cutting off his picture at a certain line will mutilate it; he asks whether his picture can better stop at one point or at another. The logic of it, for instance, roughly put, is that the painter asks whether his limiting line, or frame, should be allowed to cut a human face in two, if that be the picture. This asking how the picture will go to a frame has its next relation in asking how it will fit a wall. Will the outline and tone of the picture go to any known assembling of form or color? In other words, will it fit some setting of concordant life? Which is to conceive the picture as in life. And the painter's knowledge of the general plan of decoration, with the governing principles of effective Architecture, affords the concept that some wall, distinct in his mind as scheme of harmony, is waiting for a picture as he conceives it. This, rather than suppressing movement, helps the artist in the construction of his work. He simply has more items of life present in his estimate. To know that the shelter is organized on definite harmonious lines is the added liberty, or certitude, of the painter in his plans. It is often the lament of artists that the ill-fitting room spoils the effect of a picture; and on the other hand

it is as much the lament of the architect that some unskilled, or unrelatable, picture spoils his room. How much can all these things be said to restrict the artist in the selection of his subject? Does Architecture bind him to the room? The answer is not in any one-sided view, but that we may paint any subject, there being only the restriction of art itself, namely, that the work must be truthful, as harmonious with all of life which it touches, including demand. The artist is supposed, if rational, to qualify with the more important, or intelligent, demand. His intelligence cannot be regarded as below that of the developing sense of his fellows growing as a unity through publicity. The sub-stratum of intelligence is the same with the artist as with other people. And what the artist's mind is he will paint. For instance, we all want pictures of landscape or pictures of important action as centering in some person or thing, more than we want the picture of a post mortem or a setting hen. We demand the mobile things. The artist in the large is now found at one with this demand. It is but saying to the artist that he himself must determine what truthful thing he shall paint, as qualified by his own mental equation with life.

As we look further, it is the liberty of the manufacturers of furniture, wall-paper, fabrics and rugs, that they can work with certainty as to the want of the whole. Ordered action coming to all of these through designs from the centralized Architecture makes definite the demand in life and gives them the province to reject the exaggerated, the vulgar, the inefficient, the gaudy, and the disproportionate. This is the freedom of the wider technical action as related to the Architect.

The total outcome in the practical effect in life, the sum of liberty which the organization of Architecture contributes to man, can hardly be computed. Looking in a single direction, we are told that medicine sees the need of an advance for the betterment of patients. Practitioners have recognized that added to the treatment of nervous cases, becoming common in part through the

intense friction of the disorganic State, they would like to place their patients in that consonance of surroundings which gives an oppressed sense the release that in every phase of life attends truthful action. The agreement of color and form begets the ease of nerve that dwells in kind music and old wine. And the wider ethic of design, the freedom of experience in relation to truth, the enlargement of sense in the suiting or action, we can only compute in that undwarfing figure which is the psalm of life itself.

There is a view of ethic which has its hold upon us in the more or less indefinite notion of what is termed the beautiful, or aesthetic. In one phase it carries the doctrine of "refinement," or "elevation," of the individual through patronage of the so-called fine arts—painting, sculpture, etc. We may discern that it reveals in all its reach the experience which is the fuller sense, the poem—the fine savor of mind which is the flow of unity. Conversely, a thing may lack the aesthetic only when it is seen within that narrow, or unrelated, view which restricts the movement, or freedom, of sense.

Aesthetics, synonymous with freedom as poem, it appears accordingly, is the sense of movement on lines that do not restrict mobility, that is, on lines of fuller relationship. Thus, a mathematical problem seen rigidly, as of itself and separated from its use, gives the sense of restriction in movement, the sense of no relation in life. But seen in the marshalling of units to the end of a contribution in life, it becomes aesthetic, that is, liberated, by the sweep of fuller meaning. The falling into place of the figures which determine the weight and resistance of the cable of the suspension bridge finds aesthetic when applied, or related, as in the droop of gravity in the cable above the river, and the foot of a hope that is crossing. Overhead is the spectrum sky which opens the picture in application, or meaning, giving a sense that is less confined. The cable and other parts of the bridge painted a color which harmonizes with the surrounding hues en-

ables the sensation, injecting the mathematics, or equation, of color into a unity of experience. While a band on the plaza of the bridge may further enlarge the movement, and so the aesthetic, with the equation of sound.

A picture or a statue, for instance, are beautiful only as we connect them with the unity of experience, only when we see them blending in its reality. This may be no more than the instinctive feeling of added sensation, of another related item in mind ; but a thing is more truly beautiful, and less mean of sense, less emotional, in proportion as we consciously connect it with the wider action of life. If a painting or a statue are untrue to nature, as we term it, we do not regard them as beautiful. The vegetable mold on a piece of cheese is beautiful in its breath of fibre and undercolor, but only as we relate them to unity ; we could not know that they are soft to eye and hand but for previous sense. In general, the more conscious unity we experience, the more decorative, or beautiful, a thing is—decoration, like beauty, being regarded as consciously adding to unity, or relation, in life. It follows, obviously, that beauty in its fuller reality is an education, or experience, in the consciousness of relationship. This is why the painter knows more beauty in combinations of color than does the man ignorant of colors.

The freedom with which we approach the flower seems at first less when the question comes, as it instinctively does, What is it for ?—What does it mean ? This has led us to suppose that the attempt to find the useful in a thing drives out the aesthetic, from which it came about that men set the beautiful over against the useful. Whereas, the inquiry for the meaning is the impulse of mind to get more beauty—to get less rigidity and more movement. To ask the meaning of the flower, its related action, is the impulse toward the great aesthetic in the sense of the mobility, or unity, of the whole of life. The flower is beautiful, or decorative, when we relate it to the plant ; it is more beautiful when we relate it in wider action still. The artificial flower is beautiful so far as we can see likeness to the real flower, so far as we thus realize it. Any

stirring of sense removed from this is emotion, the unplaced of mind.

A mountain or the storm cloud are regarded as phase of the aesthetic in the distinction called the sublime. It is the sense of great enlargement in experience. These items are not aesthetic considered of themselves alone. The very concept of them, the very apprehension of them, is their relation as sense to our other knowledge of earth. When we think of a thing as a part of the earth higher and vaster than other parts which we know, we are simply adding it in the sense of greatness to our present stock of related knowledge. Thus, that experience called the sublime which unlocks the sense with a mountain and gives it the license of the sky, is an element of the ensemble, or poem, seen as the aesthetic—but in the aspect of great freedom or largeness.

If a word is required on the "nude in art" in its significance of freedom to artist and public, it is to be had in the direction of reducing the present one-sided conception of the nude. It needs to be pointed out that the nude in the absolute is a state of mind. The unclothed, in final reduction, is the separation of anything in mind from the reality of normal relation. It is to divest the sense of fuller action, or experience. In other words, the nude is the eccentric sense, however acquired. Abnormal relation is indecent exposure as affects mind, regardless of the items composing it. Accurate publicity of the human form by pen, brush or chisel, does not differ from accurate publicity of a house, an apple blossom or an unconfined wave. It is the ill figure and untruthful pose or placing that is the nude and degrading in sense. The ungraceful representation in word, stone or paint of the draped figure is the height of the nude, considered as mal-relation in mind; while a limb divested of all but truth may be fully clothed as sense. A wedlock out of love shows the degrading barrenness which violates the vesture of sense. A man or woman stripped of economic calling exhibits the disparity of being which is the repul-

sive nude. The busybody of mistaken reform may go far in undress of mind—the nakedness which opposes normal and organic movement. The nude is in the end the question of where truthful representation, or publicity, can be entrenched upon, or limited. It is hard to attempt the principle that truth can be restricted.

In our solicitude as to whether the “artist” may not be shortened in his freedom in becoming a part of a “rigid machine, subject to orders and hours,” we have the reminder that the ordered State cannot destroy its instruments, or override the methods by which men work best. And we have agreed that the organic does things not different from the less organic, but with more equality, ease and surety. In all fields, not alone the brush and chisel, the creative, or inventive, mind is given its leeway by the intelligent management. A man not necessarily confined to a regular routine in his employment, as of the running of trains, attendance at a counter or on office hours, is by common rule of his Class left to the conditions of assigning to himself his own work and his own hours. Thus, phases of the brush, the pen, the mechanic arts, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, etc., are appointed by their management to work as they need, the reliance being on the creative instinct of the artist of whatever calling. If yet misgivings be entertained, the reminder is that the time of regular labor under organic conditions is so short, even though it have to be “kept,” that it can hardly infringe upon seasons of evolvment, or creation. Hours in one’s particular calling should have the helpful measure of enforcing relations to life, which the really artistic mind may be found to invite. And there remains the question of how far a mind fully artistic can abide conditions different from that of the average man, or that do not promote the average rule.

A man writing in 1896 to a New York paper calls attention to the conditions which prevail in decorating the homes of the people. He complained of the loud and

discordant colors in the decoration of the flat in which he lived, saying that it was dictated by his landlord on the advice of an employing paperhanger in art tortuous First avenue. The landlord presumed to the office of decoration in his own flats on the prevailing conceit that it is in place for any one to select paper and paint or carpet and furniture for a room. The paperhanger had revealed that his knowledge of harmonious decoration was a spread of opposing colors in one room. At his best in achieving a room in his own flat, he had painted the woodwork a dark red, the paper on the wall was a slate ground, contending with the red ; on the paper were figures in gilt and blue ; the ceiling he had made a pink ; the carpet bought for the floor showed large and unlikelike figures in green and red and yellow. The correspondent detected that the remedy was some advance in the building trade that would throw decoration under the direction of men competent to supervise in these lines. The paperhanger, as a paperhanger, was skillful ; but when he presumed to appoint the order of a room he went out of his art. His place was to work at the finishing of houses under the direction of men capable in these matters. The answer to the correspondent's question as to when this particular species of slavery to disorder is to stop is of course the advancing organism.

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A woman, of some millions such, was in the habit of decorating her own home. When a room was to be repapered or a rug or carpet procured she had the worry of its selection. She bought things without a general scheme of harmony, but, instead, as to whether something looked pretty well as she saw it by itself, or, at most, with indefinite judgment as to how it would look in the room. And as her floor did not fit her walls, and as parts of the walls did not fit each other, so her chairs, tables and bric-a-brac were ill-assorted in the general scheme and as regards each other. Added to this the profusion was marked, as though things had been got without discernment of need or place : something was put everywhere.

Against the windows was the usual harsh imitation lace, white and unbending in the sense. To the woman herself, after all her effort, the room had the repression that she declared "not cozy."

After forty years of this inharmonious life, the woman one day was in a house that a decorator had handled. The room in which she sat was a co-ordinate whole, on the general scheme of green. She caught the difference from her own at once. The room had the substance of the unloud and unabridged which she had striven for, but never felt that she had obtained. More than cozy, restful, homelike, she described it as "elegant." In this last, her sense detected the refinement which is truth, or order. She expressed the fear that for lack of funds she could never reach to such sumptuous effects in her own home. But a comparison showed that the "elegant" room had cost less than the other. In general, it costs no more to make and put on paper or paint of proper shades. Nor does it cost any more to weave a carpet in modulated colors or to make furniture of the right shape, color and plainness. To the remark that "It must take money," the return was, "It takes organization." A little explanation with pointing out enabled the woman to see that the room was a simple mathematics of setting in color and form. With the model before her she was able to make an imitation in her own home. In such measure, the freedom of the organized art had come to one of many.

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An applicant at News liked pictures, not so much with a definite idea as to what he liked, but more with the feeling that the room was bleak without them. Much of the pictures for sale were not to life, were not "natural," and repelled him. Others that were more real had unreal frames—loud gilt or frames in other ways overwrought, antagonizing sincere surroundings. He felt the discord, without stating it clearly to himself. Acting on his promptings of a pliable sense, such pictures as he bought were of the tempered type. But he could not ac-

quire the consciousness that his pictures were exactly the right thing. He however needed only to have the simple principles of selection brought out, to make him a tolerable judge of his wants and conscious of ordered effects. This was, that the proper thing is any little true sketch or photographic print that brings life into the room. It was pointed out that he did not want a lie in the form of a picture fronting him every time he turned, more than he wanted any other kind of untruth. To be truthful, that is, to make an equation with man's experience, a picture must agree with nature, since our experience cannot be different from nature. His attention was led to the fact that every situation or thing in nature has its subdued side, something that relieves its lines or conquers its abruptness. So that, if the picture was true, it would have this softness whatever the thing. And as it was the tendency of nature to clothe itself in temperate setting, so the pictures must fit his room and the frames fit both picture and room. The picture would not be so large as to put out the hospitality of the place, nor would the subject contend with the seemly and quiet which belong to a living apartment. The incongruous would not be bowed in. For a living room we would hardly select a life size portrait or, though small, a picture of shipwreck or a baboon. The frame must be plain and of a color which harmonizes, or it could be an ivory white making a livening touch, the harmony of proper contrast. These were the principles bringing the inquirer consciousness of the order of his shelter, and with the help of the decorator it was made a practice. Amongst a mass of untruthful and enslaving pictures at the sales counters were found at moderate price some small, truthful etchings and prints in brown and black. One picture taken was a tree-fenced cottage, low and a friend to the ground. Another was a laborer in wooden shoes at work with his spade, bringing exactly the peasant fields of France to a room in a flat in New York. Another was a boat carrying its lazy sail on a canal in Holland. There was a print of a distant mountain view in the Sierras, opening the wall. Among the

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rest, a woman's face. The pictures had narrow ribbed frames, which the decorator gave a coat of orange cream, fitting the tan design of the room. They were like the woodwork, appearing as projection of it. Hung low, they added to the one scheme of truthful and freeing relation.

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Men have felt, more than realized, the harshness in the hues of the national flag. The emblem itself is so imposing that it tends to dignify the misfit of colors of which it is composed. In contemplating the largeness of its significance we have been less alive to the lack in its design. Still, one more refined, or truthful, in his eye tone than an Indian is afflicted by it. We more bring it out if we raise in mind a house with boards painted alternately a bold red and white and the roof and borders, say, an obtrusive blue, carrying white stars; or, again, the pickets of a fence painted alternately red and white, with the base board a blue showered with white spots; and, this is the annoyance we feel at the barber poles in pronounced red and white. Mr. Tiffany was called to make a mosaic of the flag, or escutcheon, in a window of the White House. The artist evidently strove against the more perpendicular contrast of the colors; for he modified the white to an old ivory or cream, the blue he touched with green until it lost its edge, and the red he aged and mellowed. People who look at the mosaic flag in the White House window marvel at its concert and call it richness, appraising the adornment in truth, though less realizing that it is a mental freedom having its source in the organized design.

Property in the organized Architect Class, as in all Classes, has its meaning in propriety of use as affecting the public interest. Possession rests functionally in the Architect Class; that is, following the law of use as control, property vests in the agents of its action. The method of this ownership tends to preserve the individuality, the efficiency and the freedom, of everybody. The classifi-

cation and character of the housing must turn upon this irrefragable demand of the State. It supplies the cottage, leaf-clad, for a family of two or three, who demand the seclusion of a small home ; and the snug house according to the demands of a large family or club. There are the big buildings like the present stores, adapted to the needs of distribution ; and the big edifice of the meeting place of the people. The farming sections are supplied with housing adapted to the storage and handling of grain, fruits, etc., adjacent to the living places of the farmers. Each locality has its school and hotel. There are all buildings for all uses.

We see that a man pays for his house at a monthly rental as he does now in one form or another. And there comes up here the misconception of people that they now own their own homes. The present ownership is in much unreal, for we are taxed directly or indirectly on our living places in sums far greater than would be the cost charge per month under the economies of the Organic State. The complaint of the whole West is now that the farmers cannot pay their mortgages, in other words, cannot get ownership of their farms. We have seen this as partly traceable to the enormous tax by the railroads on the movement of production. Figures will show easily that the railroad companies, as a single agency of wasteful methods in the State, are now taxing the householder practically a higher rental on his place than he would pay to the comptroller of the organized Architecture. And in every direction the extortion of waste is multiplied until it is seen that the present nominal householder has the most encroaching of landlords, piling rents upon him in measure amounting to dispossession. It is in this apparent that the leading toward economy of organization in any direction in the State, and not alone the Architect Class, must go to put the householder into virtual possession of his place, that is, into a more realizing freedom in its use and control than he now possesses. The house becomes in fee simple the property of the householder in perpetual term of *proper*-ty use. It is a change from con-

stricted ownership to the fuller, or more actual, ownership through efficient and enlarged use, dispossessible only by the householder's will. The actual title of a householder now vests, that is, lawfully, in the fact that he pays his direct taxes to the State and his debts or obligations from whatever source, and this means that he is made a species of sufferance tenant to disorderly conditions. He must endure the consuming tax of extortionate waste or else meet eviction. Thus more do we realize an inadequate tenure disqualifying our possession, and see that a growing order must go to transform it and give the holder possession in the fuller sense of liberty of use—that is, make him less bound, less deprived or evicted.

The actual possession, or use, is virtually as we see about us, but with the more abiding qualities. A letter-carrier or shoemaker, finding his occupation in a certain part of the country, will go on living in his small cottage or his larger house for his life-time. This, and the vine which he has planted and trained, will be more owned by him, in the absoluteness of possession until death, than is now the case in his nominal title encroached upon by the tendency to some disaster in economic conditions which will stop his daily wage. Seen as concrete his possession now vests in his daily wage, surrounded by many matters of uncertainty in its continuance ; so that his possession, depending upon an unstable equation, appears in nowise absolute : in the organic social his possession, depending upon conditions that are as certain as the continuance of the State itself, appears as absolute. We see that in the case of a railway mail-clerk who transfers his family from one point of the country to another, to be near his terminus in a change of run, or with people who wish to change climate and scene more than vacation would give them, there will be, as now, the giving up of one house and the taking of another. Should the appointments of the house they move from have attachments for them they will be able, at the Archi counter in the division to which they go, to obtain a house with like belongings ; and any touches of reminiscence did

they appear likely to be long in possession, or use-ownership, would be afforded them. So, a particular pear-tree or peach-tree which they might want in a patch of garden would be allowed them, and could be planted by their own hand, under the advice of an attache of Architecture, who would see that it did not conflict with design in the grounds. Particular pieces of furniture may be brought along and displace certain others in the new home. Heirlooms and much of association migrate with the person. The organizing Architect Class is of the current toward the realization of the home in possession of what is dear to men, under conditions approaching the absolute, where now in the million cases the hopes of men are denied. It is an item in the coming of the fire-side, a warranty of abiding place,—a loved room, a cherished shade, a favorite chair.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOME : THE INTIMATE ASSOCIATION

The Home determines as that commerce which is the exchange of love, or companionship. Men and women as factors of the Class and the State require for their realization, or well-being, an intimate association in an harmonious contact with an object having mentality, in the same general meaning that they want food or clothes or transportation ; that is, in the same reality that they experience exchange in other items of the State. It is a phase of the economic relations of men, a division of labor contributing to the Class through realizing the individual. The latter does something for his Class in realizing himself, through trading a companionship, whether with a member of his own or another Class.

The fuller reality of the closer mental contact is a trade in action. Men and women seek the intimate experience in contact with something that they themselves directly order, or make happy, and which directly reacts these conditions of order, or happiness—being division of labor as association. The truth of this is in the popular rendering, that we find happiness in making happy the object of our affection. This is the ruling manifestation of what we call love, or the closer companionship, and all understand it as such on even casual analysis of their own impulse, or movement. If we have a sweetheart, or loved companion, we want to do something for such a one, we say. The psychologic statement of it is that mind seeks to realize the object of affection in terms of one's own doing, which is in terms of one's most intimate experience. Our love experience with an object ; our affection for it, its closeness to us, is in terms of what we have done for it as our division of labor in a mutual re-

action. Take away either our own action or the reaction of the object we love as related to our action and there is nothing real left as affection. Become more intimate, as of habit, it is love. Carried too far, it is disease—on the well recognized principle that pathology may be excessive physiology. The law binds us in love to any phase of contact. The driver disconsolate over his engine in the ditch gives example of the law which realizes love in the verity which is one's own action, or more intimate experience. The engine has so often reacted upon the engineer that it is one with his own mind as intimate object of his experience, in doing. And the huntsman sorrows over his expiring horse. Our affection for the State as object is the realization of this law. The concept of the State which sees it as dependent upon the action of oneself has inherent in it the love of country, or patriotism. We love our neighbor as ourselves when we do something for him and he reacts it, and so we love our neighbors as a body, the social. But, looking to our limitations, we find an intimate love in the economics which trades the self for self in a close association.

It must be seen in the view here that the kissing of a sweetheart or the tender reply of a sweetheart, as phase of contact with another consciousness, is an added realization of one's own doing through reaction in life. A kiss or a tender reply are returned if the action of a companion justifies it. Such experience we have seen is but loving more than one may be said to love a less intelligent or less mobile or less relatable object. And we have seen that the sexual is likewise an added experience in the further development of love, which lacks realization in objects not thus qualified. The sexual is a phase of affection, as of an added and more intimate experience. The State, in the institution of association, the home, does not recognize that reproduction is due to the sexual alone, but to all phases of the experience of love, or association. The commonwealth has its relation to men in their fuller existence, not in any single feature, as the sexual. It is not recognized that a man or

a woman marries a sexual organ alone. Affection is to be regarded in its fuller reflection ; and it may be summed up in the commercial truism that two people love each other when one has in measure what the other wants, in all the items of one's personality.

The State in its action logically defines the sexual experience as dependent upon comradeship, making the latter the underlying concept of home. The reality of the marriage record would seem to be essentially comprehended in this, because with the movement toward organization in the State the tendency is to put away from the marriage stipulation other factors which now appear to complicate it, such for instance as the support of the child and wife by the husband. There is left the stipulation of affection, expressed or implied. That is, a compatible association is regarded as the warrant for a further, or sexual, experience, the State coming in with the instrument of marriage as the safeguard of blood-relation at the point where development of association demands it. As protecting the fuller comradeship, the State undertakes to guarantee the parentage of the child, that is, certifies to the facts of the order in a fuller experience, so that a future intimate association may not be disordered by intermarriage of blood relations. And the State annuls the marriage license on the showing of incompatibility of temperament, on the showing of the absence of that primary experience which is companionship. Although the marriage is frequently annulled on the nominal showing of violation, or fracture, of the sexual experience, this is in reality an expression of the condition of non-association, or mal-companionship, of the parties to the marriage. In short, this development of the State, the organization of the function which under specific conditions results in reproduction, has been along the lines of the organization of companionship, and it is the latter aspect that the action of the State logically recognizes as the central idea of the institution called the home.

The transaction which realizes the life of the individual through the closer contact of a companionship, or love, is

recognized by the State under conditions of trade which afford a single abode for the two persons thus associated ; and this is the efficient method of exchange of a closer companionship. People adapted for close companionship satisfy this want, find exchange of this experience, in being within call of each other, at times when more exacting conditions do not separate them. Economic conditions of being within call of each other require the one abode. And the single abode is the provision of privacy which the State throws around the transaction of companionship, being contribution to the fuller contact. This is the meaning of the drawn curtain. It is partition from eroding movement, the same intuition of life which infolds the beating heart.

In turn, we have to see the seclusion of the home saved against exaggeration and constriction. It is saved through its reflex with life in the daily function of its inmates, going forth to work, and the electric wire which in the growing economies of organization is advancing upon it. Both these phases of contact draw the home out of itself and into the wider movement. Seclusion lending to the daily avocation and the ticker on the table is in poise with life.

The relation of the child to the State and to the Home. The child having been conceived, it is born to the State, its first business being to grow. It is a division of labor between child and State, by which the State realizes itself in the child and by which the child realizes itself in the State. The State doesn't want a new child born, merely, it wants a new or increased companionship born, and all other conditions of the child as enlarging and continuing the life of the State. The relation of the parents and the child is that of fuller association, or exchange of experience in the more intimate contact. Father and mother experience association with the child, and with each other through the child, and the child realizes its part in relation to the parents.

At the present time the State looks after the payment of the child's wage in the only way that shows itself as

practical under the current deficiencies of Exchange—it lays the support of the child and, what is a similar thing in the transaction, the lameness of the mother to support herself, upon the husband as one of the contracting parties to the experience. Under existing conditions of Exchange the husband and father is made the agent of the State for paying wage to wife and child. He collects from the State enough to support all. But under the advancing organic conditions, the child at birth is put upon the pay-roll of the Class to which its ties belong, as noted under Exchange.

Paternity or Maternity not an occupation in itself, but a contribution to each person's function. The fuller relation of man and woman to the State is found in his or her conscious art in a technical Class, being mental commerce with the State. The State in its complete reduction is a mental commerce, or trade in organized conscious action. Any other aspect of the action of man or woman takes secondary place—takes place as contributory to this. And it is within this, as subordinate, that the sexual function of either man or woman places. For it is obvious that neither a man nor a woman is a sexual organ alone, any more than he or she is a stomach or a heart or a liver. The sexual organ may contribute a child to the State, within the view of its essential function; and so also the kidneys or the liver or the lungs may contribute a child to the State, within the meaning of what a given organ does toward the results of a combined action. We have to see that one part of a man or a woman no more contributes a child to the State than does another part, the office of one organ considered as indispensable to each of the others. But for the division of labor between the sexual organs and the liver or heart there could be no child born to the State. A man or a woman has being only in a fuller doing, the fuller commerce with the State. This is not told by reference to the action of any particular organ, but is in terms of one's life art, the combined action of all the bodily organs. A man or a woman *is* as a photographer, a blacksmith, a reporter, a musician, a surgeon,

a gardener, or a tailor—since either is a part of the State constituted as some such division of labor. Maternity and paternity are factors in the realization of this chiefest function, or aspect; childbearing makes a contribution to the State which forwards this function. Without the contribution of the child to the State the latter instantly ceases to exist. With the lapse of child-birth the continuity of the State is broken, and instead of the State we have the decaying thing—the not-State. It is in this, in one view, that the birth of a child to a parent who is a photographer is contribution to his or her function as such.

A healthy woman finds her condition of health conserved by following her occupation up to within a few days of the birth of her child. The child is also bettered. A malformed and ill-conditioned child is often traceable to inactivity of the mother during gestation. And experience determines that the mother is bettered in presently returning to her work. The time specifically involved in child-bearing, in lieu of regular work, is a question of conditions making for the freedom of the mother, and she may have leave of absence in this special contribution to her general function for whatever time she wishes or her physician advises—the medical rule is fifty days. And the father with the concern and exactions of maternity upon him may associate in this contribution in behalf of the State, for whatever time is needful.

The conditions of truthful action in the intimate association. It should be recognized by the parties to the transaction, husband and wife, that marriage is an instrument for compatible experience; that is, an agreeable association on the part of both members but to neither party alone. The bondage is now in the negative social conditions which still in measure hold, compelling one or both parties to continue in untruthful relations of close contact, when such contact is shown to have incompatibility, or non-association—is shown to be a lie. In some directions this falsity is carried to such a degree that one party to the contract presumes to have life possession of the other. The habit is to speak of “my husband” or “my

wife" with the meaning of a life ownership. It is in this view that a man or a woman will pursue with coercion an associate in marriage, through the vehicle of courts and custom. Good men and women, having entered an incompatible association, are often ruined for life through the power of a vindictive or ill-advised partner in marriage. The course of the State tends to provide the speedy and easy separation of parties to an association-contract when it has been demonstrated that their living together is untruthful action, the tragedy of disordered experience. The growth has been steadily away from denial of divorce and in the direction of easing the more stringent statutes. The growth is toward the absolute and more flexible divorce laws. The same rule tends to hold in annulling the contract as holds in its making. The contract could be annulled on a simple and formal showing before the court that one party is adverse to the association. The logic of adjustment of relations in the State which would not compel one party to unwillingly associate with, or marry, another could hardly compel one party to the transaction to continue unwillingly in such relations. There need be no more recrimination or undue publicity attending the expunging of the contract than in its making. Or, regarding the contract as carrying the proviso of annulment should incompatibility develop, there need be no more noise in its fulfillment by divorce than otherwise. The all-important thing, as sinking other considerations, should be the formal court writing that the parties can no longer live truthfully together, can no longer have actual association—being the decree of divorce that the marriage license has been cancelled on showing of incompatibility.

Further practical truthfulness under present conditions is that the husband and wife could mutually bear the expense of the support of the child before and after separation, as far as may be, treating it as an equal and independent obligation devolving upon each. It is their mutual experience and under the present lame conditions of Exchange they could each see the obligation to share

its support, so far as either party can compass it. And for the same reason neither could not be asked to support the other ; yet where only one wage comes to both from the State it is his or her right to have specific proportionate share. But there is a present practical view of this division of wage which recognizes that either husband or wife may be raised to so little knowledge of affairs as to need supervision by a companion.

As to the guardianship of the child after severance of the closer relations of men and women in the breaking up of an association by divorce, it is essentially operative now. The proper State officer appoints either the father or mother to have the care of the child as seems fitting on the exhibit of the facts, allowing the other parent association with it under reasonable conditions.

As to the growth in divorce the public conscience may come to see that the truthful course is an agreeable separation, to continue as rational friends instead of the falsehood and friction of a compulsory association under an unyielding contract. The validity of this view is apparent in not a few separations under existing conditions where the two parties to the annulled marriage lived afterwards as friends, one or both continuing under the desire to help the other as occasion served, but not in the falsity of a close association which begot a mutual bitterness. It was the separation that enabled them to regard each other more normally, as the casual or warm friend. Such a separation was that of the writer Ruskin who obtained a divorce in order that his wife might marry the late Sir John Millais. The change was toward the more truthful in ordered association, the conditions of which Ruskin apprehended. He continued the friend of Millais and his former wife the remainder of their lives, and was a frequent visitor at their house. Ruskin found his happiness in seeing his former wife allied to agreeable conditions, which close association with himself could not afford. He preferred the happiness of order under new relations to his wife. And we may say that he still loved the woman so much that he wished to make her happy under condi-

tions that could avail. He realized happiness in doing, or sacrificing, something for the object of his affection. Another case is that of Mr. Osborne who helped his wife obtain a divorce that she might marry the writer Robert Louis Stevenson. Mr. Osborne was present at the wedding of his divorced wife and Mr. Stevenson, so the story relates, and it is said that at the ceremony he gave her away in marriage. Nansen, the Arctic explorer, before leaving for the North seas, went through the form of a divorce out of consideration to his wife in view of anticipated complications should he die—which he was likely to do and which would leave her without certain knowledge of it. On his return they were again married. Amelie Rives Chanler was divorced from her husband with his consent and sympathy. Mr. Chanler was aware that she wished to remarry. He found his order in freeing and ordering her. There are a multitude of cases of similar separation and rational treatment of home conditions in what we call the more common walks of life. They of course depend a great deal upon the intelligence of the contracting persons. But intelligence is enlarged experience; and with the growth of the custom, and in contact with more liberal views from childhood up, the man or woman will less think to own an associate.

The organization of the various lines of Domestic Service as promoting the Home. The care and cleanliness of the house, the attention to its woods, metals, furnishings and repairs, appear to fall within the expert labor which belongs to the Architect Class. The man or maid who sweeps the floor, dusts the furniture, washes the windows, makes the beds, could come from the Domestic Service branch of the Architect Class. One person is appointed as many houses during the day as fits the labor involved, be it one or a dozen. Such person finds a round of daily service, including naturally his or her own home, the latter to be cared for in the regular course for the day. The times for doing the work we see arranged according to the convenience or desires of the different homes as far as possible; otherwise, where this cannot

be arranged, everybody should take their regular turn. In the matter of making beds or other attention to a room if one wants it a little earlier set to rights, they can themselves give it the few minutes required; and where folding beds are used, in which there are great advances toward simplicity, disorder in a room can be minimized. However, in any case of urgency, the electric button will bring service, as the district messenger call brings a messenger boy or as the lady of the house now rings the bell for her maid. Through electric button and telephone all domestic service may be had as though it were waiting in the next room. This defines a reserve of domestic attendance in every line. This service in the Architect Class, which cares for the cleanliness and arrangement of the house and its furniture, will in all things be subject to the master or mistress of the home, except where personal notions would disrupt essential order and conflict with the established rules of the Class. — That part of the Domestic Service which looks after the care of the grounds of the house is seen as a branch of the Architect Class: the division of Landscape Gardening. A householder can have his own small vegetable and fruit garden and can attend to it in whole or in part under the regulation of this department of Architecture. Similarly, a person may look after his own lawn and shrubbery. Where a householder, doing these things for exercise and relaxation, leaves a part of his work it will be attended to for the regular fee by labor from this branch of Architecture. — Cooking as branch of Domestic Service is a feature of the organized Cookery. Food, as already considered, organizes its distribution from a central cooking place for a neighborhood, covering a given area of houses. There may be in each house a kitchen on a minor plane for general convenience of the inmates. As seen, people can take as many meals as they like in the public dining-room, as they do now at the table d'hôte, and for a slightly increased fee they may have a meal served in their own dining-room at home. Waiters on call will bring it from the central kitchen and attend

to its service in the house. The method of this food movement exists in the regulated flats of to-day. When people prefer they may have their meals cooked in their own kitchen as one of the appointments of their flat; or they may use the public dining-room of the building; and for a small increase in price they may have their meals served in their rooms, from the common kitchen. With a kitchen attaching to the house it would be supposed that some people would like to serve their own breakfast of coffee and a roll, or some other light meal, as often as it should be a convenience or pastime. Or, they may serve all their own meals. Each has entire liberty in these matters. The members of the Cook, or Food Class, of course occupy their own homes. Each cooking station is in charge of a chef who studies the economic movement of food and makes division of labor with the home. The master and mistress of the house can go about their occupations unhampered by a need to study the things in the market for rotation of fare. They no more take this upon themselves than the guest at the hotel or restaurant does. As to the reduction of the hotel as living place it would seem to be a needed economy for transients, and for all who like it. It is, of course, run by the the several branches of the Domestic Service, as of the home, with a landlord in charge as host.——The Laundry part of the Domestic Service is naturally withdrawn from rooms and houses and done at central points, favorably circumstanced, as in its advance stage it is now.——The Heating and Lighting feature of Domestic Service places in a local electric, steam or hot-water plant, supplying a given radius, similar to what we now have in some places.——The Nursery part of the Domestic Service, the care of babies and young children, must be seen as given to a phase of the School. The nurse shapes as branch of the School service trained in the care of very young children. Where it is needed the nurse can spend the night at the home of the child. Where during the day-time economy and convenience require it the children may be so grouped, especially the

older ones, that one nurse may have charge of more than one child. But in cases where it is needful one nurse is obviously made the attendant of one child. These nurses, as attaches of the School, of course have technical training in the instruction of young children. They are under the direction of the parents, within the regulations of this branch of the organized School. In case of severe sickness a nurse from the Medicine Class would be supplied, as at present. The latter phase of child nursing is now somewhat advanced in organization.

The ethic of the Home is, in general, the greater freedom coming out of the fuller organization of the intimate association. It is helped on by the growth of all the divisions of the State. The ill-adjustment and fretting of people, traceable to disorganization in the various avenues of life, must be regarded as restrictive and in degree disruptive of the home association.

The action, or principle, which makes for liberty in the sexual experience is to subordinate such experience to the process of the individual as a whole. This is to modify, or control, the sexual impulsion by the conditions essential to one's well-being, or freedom. The individual as a whole is, in the controlling aspect, functional employment in the State. Touching the freedom, or modification, of the sexual experience, therefore, we ask ourselves primarily whether it promotes our function in the State, or, conversely, whether it impairs it. This belongs to the fact actual and has undoubtedly to be answered by the individual in his own experience. Men and women having employment that interests them find that the tendency to overweight the sexual is minimized thereby. This is the subordination of the part-self by the whole-self. Thus we may say that the practice of the liberty of the self in the sexual relation is dependent in its development upon the growth of the State. And it follows that the growing organism reaches out to minimize the "social evil"; it must be that sex will prostitute itself less, will more unify its action, when mankind gen-

erally attains normal occupation and when a woman or a man no longer has to sell integrity for food and housing.

The ethic in repression, or modification, of the sexual by one individual is noticed to vary in detail from that of another. Total prevention of conception by abstinence seems to be one person's liberty; while the total prevention of conception by so-called mechanical means, is apparently another person's liberty. Others find their freedom in one or more children, while preventing conception the remainder of the time by one of the foregoing methods.

Some find that their liberty does not permit the sexual action except as directly aimed at childbearing. Such object that they get no mental fulfillment, no rationale, short of projecting the action in the purpose stated—full function, they term it.

Those who do get mental equipoise, or fulfillment, in the action short of projecting specifically upon the purpose in question do so in view of the apparent propriety of the cursive employment of all the body reflexes under conditions of moderation, but not of excess. They answer the objection, that the act in its shortened aspect is not functional and so is irrational, by pointing out that all bodily acts have a functional side in lending to the life of the individual as experience—the living in a round, or poise, of the bodily powers, by their somewhat frequent exercise. It is held that the objection has separated the sexual action from other bodily powers and seen it as alone the source of childbearing, whereas it is no more concerned in reproduction than is the act of breathing, or eating, or laughter, or hearing, etc. And the estimate is made that if we cannot lawfully experience the sexual reflex under modified conditions, or apart from childbearing, neither can we any of the others. If we cannot permit the sexual action without directly aiming at reproduction and leaving the way open, neither can we eat or sleep or wake or laugh except to this end and as directly forwarding it. In other words, if we laugh, etc., without joining

to full conditions of childbearing, that is, if we laugh apart from the sexual reflex, among others, we forestall the function of laughter, and mind suffers shortened, or aborted, object. And if, for instance, it is said that eating has an end, nutrition, entirely alone and apart from reproduction, it is answered that nutrition is the equating action of all the bodily functions without exception ; that eating is no more nutrition than is breathing, laughing, seeing, sexualizing, sleep, muscle movement, etc. We laugh or eat to the end that we may accomplish normal equipoise in experience, or bodily reflex—and so we sexualize. The appetite, or impulse, in any direction itself gives legality, but as modified.

The various aspects of the question may be trusted to work through to their own solution as of moderated action, disrupting conditions removed. In studying the development of the sexual expression, we find that it is markedly away from free and unrestrained indulgence seen in the lower planes of animal life. The latter exercise the passion whenever it comes upon them, while man is found to restrain it. And we here build upon the fact that the normal direction of mind, as controlled by functional place in the State, carries the modifying conditions making for lessening of sexual exaggeration. It would appear also that the attitude of the inquiry touching the whole subject has to be more upon lines of movement instead of rigidity, as of absolute dictum. And it can not be lost sight of in a summation of the facts that the author of the Emancipation Proclamation, the inventor of the Calculus, the great composers, and the multiplied developments of life have come into existence through open action on this subject by the people of all time. It must be noted that the progress of earth has come up through the lines laid down, namely, men and women working out their own freedom in the matter.

CHAPTER XII

THE SCHOOL : THE APPRENTICESHIP

The School, the Child of Democracy, is referable to the notion of the apprenticeship. It is found that education is the organization of men and women into affairs—their development into division of labor. We have come to regard a man's mentality as his experience. But any real experience as expression of mental being must be understood as reaction under contact ; and this means carrying one's ideas through to their proper employment in the State. A man's contact has its practical expression, or reality, in what he does in life under the specific organization in which it is presented to him, or as he finds it. But the notion of the State has its foundation in the fact that the reaction of all men represents a diversity of doing, any particular division of which we call a man's special adaptability. So that education of man becomes the search for his adaptability in specific doing. And it therefore follows, in the practical, everyday phrase, that a man's education is to develop efficiency in some trade, some business. We accordingly see that education as process is a development through an institution which organizes a person's contact to the end of giving him a place in technical doing.

The School organizes on that primary need of education which is man's progress to his adaptability of place—being the apprenticeship in life. That is, the School is primarily an organization having its object in apprenticing the child. The reality of this comes home to us in the common complaint of men that they are enslaved to conditions through inefficiency and dislike in handling them. It is the very common complaint that men have not found

their place. After years of friction in an objectionable trade men will seek release in occupations they find more congenial. The unrealities of people and the wreck of human life are in degree due to lack of adaptability in occupation, or to lack of occupation at all. The tragedies lie thick here. And on the other hand we know the satisfactory measure those persons put upon themselves who have attained to place in action fitting them—the man and woman who cannot rest long away from their work. The School is not, in the highest sense, yet conscious of the principle which underlies its business. It has notions of a “general” education, while its purpose is rather a special education, adding all other things to the one thing.

The School is primarily the office for systemizing apprenticeship that a child may find the occupation for which he is fitted. We have but to look back upon our lives to realize the need of an institution which should take children in charge to provide them in actual and technical work. This office, seen as the organizing principle of the School, would be cognizant of place and requirements of apprenticing the child. It would have organized relationship with masters of trades that close information could be had upon the progress and adaptability of a child in its special walk. When it should clearly be discovered and understood as between the manager of apprentices, the teacher as such, and the master of a trade that the pupil did not measure up to the requirements of a given occupation, it would be put to work in some line more clearly its own, certain leanings giving an indication. But from the first and always there is the actual doing by the child as finally determining his trend, the only test of place in life.

The further action, or organization, of the School, should be to promote the efficiency of the apprenticeship by collateral drills. In this direction we have the various drills in the knowledge of communication between men tending to efficient action in every line of business; these drills are such as reading, writing, and arithmetic. These may

be made the first work; that is, the system of trade pupilage, which is the reality of the School, anticipates these as the first step, but having their reality as work collateral to the main purpose. So that before actually putting the child in charge of a master in any given line of industry he is given drill in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, but with special calling as objective. Succeeding the placing of the child with the master of industry, the drill in the collateral work goes on for a certain number of hours a day parallel with the work in the shop. In the progress of the course the collateral work has special shaping where demand calls for it. That is, a child ultimately apprenticed to civil engineering or astronomy will be given more particular drill in mathematics, as the need grows. A child developing special adaptability in mathematics, so that his apprenticeship is to a teacher of higher mathematics, for instance, will in his growing education build toward this. A child apprenticed to architecture will have special drill in drawing and color, as going beyond the knowledge which all should receive. A child apprenticed to letters will have his special drill in language. But we hold in mind the reality of the primary collateral drill, reading, writing and numbers, the base of everything else, which is anticipated as a first step in apprenticeship and has its meaning or reality as such first step, common to all lines of trade.

The collateral drill of the School, devised to help out the efficiency of apprenticeship, demands every economy of machinery. Of this is recognized the modern development of drill whereby a child is helped to a knowledge of reading, numbers, etc.

In the line of economy of machinery the affiliating drill tends to pass over to the telegraph wire as promoting efficient contact with life. Instead of an abstract or hypothetical studying of geography and numerical problems we may pass to the readier knowledge of life with the transactions of men in the actual, through bringing the wire into the collateral drill—the present

schoolroom. More than reading about San Francisco or Boston in a remoteness of incident that is unreal, as removed from the immediate, the child may know as actual through an instant news contact by wire, associated with drill in the map or other thoroughness. The wire giving the story of some happening in Boston carries the reality and material of geography, reading and mathematical drill or any other feature of the collateral schooling. The "three R's and the G" can all be in an incident of the wire, as we easily discover.

An account of a fire in Atlanta in 1894 was put upon the "General Sporting and News Ticker" at points over the country. Almost with the sounding of the alarm in Atlanta the tickers at New York bulletined the fact. At intervals reports continued, interspersed with other news. In a few minutes from the first announcement the instruments told in print on their tape that a general alarm had been turned in, that the entire Atlanta fire department was out. It stated the extent of the fire and its location, as in the central business section bounded by certain streets. Presently the news of the fire was abruptly cut in the middle of a sentence. Then came the information that the wires south were interrupted. But soon, after a few minutes wait, it was announced that dispatches via Louisville showed the fire under control. Later, followed the extent of the loss in number of buildings burned and their valuation, with insurance by companies and the location of these companies.

Here was an actual geography, almost kaleidoscopic in its movement. Some of the incidents, as of the location of insurance companies, carry us to London and Hamburg. Mathematics was afforded in the figuring of the extent of losses, by each company and in the total, extending to the computation of the proportion or per cent. of liability by each company, with the loss by each individual over his insurance, and the loss by all over insurance. This could extend also to the pupil's closer interest in the computation of loss at the same ratio on his home. The mathematical drill could easily

cover the whole range of ordinary computation in arithmetic, presented in the running demand for knowledge of the affair and involved interests; and with some ingenuity on the part of the drill-master, or teacher, it could be extended to include the most complicated problem. If history was wanted, contact with Atlanta alone would furnish it. In a certain "march to the sea" there was once a bigger fire in Atlanta, with no rescue rung. More history being wanted, it could be had in a study of the growth of insurance, extending, if we like, to the rise of finance itself. And we find London the seat of a commercial supremacy into the rise of which merged old forms and old orders of trade and social structure and out of which came new—into which went Egypt and Rome and out of which came America. With Hamburg and the rise of the house of Rothschild there is the story of Tyre and Sidon and Gallilee. If grammar is asked, it is had in working over the report itself by the pupil, attended by the insistent suggestion and rules of the drill-master; this may be reduced to type, to furnish reading for the various grades as adapted, and to be carried home or exposed to the more general eye, giving publicity and involving the responsibilities and exactions of the actual projection into life at both ends.

As the first direct approach to the wire, or ready contact with life, the School is beginning to use the newspapers in the moving reports for making up drill matter in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history. The newspaper reports in some instances are worked over by the teachers into matter adapted to the several grades of the collateral drill. But obviously the material loses its force in part if not coming direct upon the wire, as of the instant life-happening, the closer action—as the report of the fire at Atlanta or the arrival of an ocean liner in the outer Bay at New York and the account of her landing. This is life, and cannot be got in the large short of the immediate pulse of news. The wire is now so far advanced that the "General Sporting and News Ticker" is found in the hotel lobbies and public bars.

These tickers admitted to the schools make the life connection. There can be a School circuit cutting off the more technical sporting news and increasing and adapting the general and local news. In added view, the camera is so far along that the children can go out and assist the wire in bringing the life report, the life impulse, into the class-room. And typewriter and typograph displace the tedious, stereotyped and unreal portions of the Book. Any manipulation of the types by the child is an added movement for him. Children notoriously pick up letters and words when permitted the types. They tend to print as report, or reaction, of their contact. Direction through tutelage advances this. In all these tools life is knocking at the door of the School.

The organization of the School as systematizing apprenticeship and furnishing the allied drill at once presupposes a National central office with Regional heads in the various divisions of the country. It is readily seen, for instance, that in the organization of the apprenticeship the need or deficiency of a given Region is supplied by requisition upon some other Region. This has to be done through a National central office which is advised of the apprentice conditions in the various Regions. A child who has arrived at the age of transposition may be called upon to find his place in some adjoining territory, according to the demand, as now the child is called upon to go away to boarding-school or other institution. In many cases it may be possible for the parents to get transference of occupation and accompany the child, as parents often do now when the advantage of son or daughter lies in a certain place. In this we may still be reminded that in general nothing in the Organic State is done very differently from the less organized State, except that it is done more systematically and with less friction. The report carried to the National Office of Schools from the head of a given Region that a certain child therein cannot find an apprenticeship in photography, for instance, may be followed by a notification that the pupil has been commissioned to a place in an adjoining Re-

gion, it being known at the National center where advantageous conditions open. And there is the control, appointment and transposing of apprentices within a Region through its own head, the National center not being taxed in its attention except in supervising such action, to see that it does not conflict with the more general movement of the School. Oftentimes the child and its parents may choose between several places. Families, as now, are found following in several generations a given line of trade, a child being apprenticed to a father or mother; but there is promised the greater flexibility that it need not be so unless it is desirable.

The one Central Head and the various Regional Heads carry the reality of the University. We have simply to see the University as the centralizing action of the organized apprenticeship. To centralize action is to universalize it. It may be seen as universalizing the reproductive function of the State, being the renewal, or universalizing, of its continued life. The apprenticeship center of the Region is the Division, or Region, University; and in the centralization as a whole, the Central University.

In the matter of drill as promoting apprenticeship there is a centralized grade at the Universities, or centers, corresponding to what is now the professional schools at these institutions. In one instance this is well seen in its practical working if we look at Medicine. At populous centers at the current time the physicians of the region contributory have established a Medical College. But this in effect is an amphitheater and other office for bringing apprentices of Medicine into fuller contact with varied phases of the business. At this office operations are bulletined in advance. And attached to the office are assistants of the operators or lecturers; these are supposed to have capacity for imparting information. Such are drill-masters who severally take the students and familiarize them with the anatomy and physiology of a given operation which they have assisted in or are to assist in. These drill-masters in their several specialties extend to chemistry and the knowledge of drugs.

Looking to fuller movement, we see that with normal conditions of transportation and telegraph the apprentices throughout a given Region would be bulletined as to operations and drill at the center. And as the apprentice of a doctor a block away, and sometimes the doctor himself, would go to the central amphitheater, or University medical drill, so the apprentice living a hundred miles away would go in for a day, week, or month or longer, as the need might be. Looking to still further movement, we see that at this central place operations of any newness are bulletined from every source, from the immediate Region and from all over the country, the latter as coming through the Central, or National, bureau of the Medical Apprenticeship. Doctors remote in the Region as well as near bring cases to the Region center and operate upon them as affording special features of drill, or affording some newness; enforcing this view, we now find doctors who live in Syracuse or Hartford coming before students in the New York medical colleges. And it becomes evident that at the National head, as the Central University, there would be a drill where a wide range of masters of the profession would give exhibition of their work and could be studied not only by apprentices but by doctors in regular practice who would choose to visit the center for a time of change and research—once a year or as often as circumstances permitted, much as the doctors now come to New York for the same purpose.

Similar to the foregoing drill at the Universities there is the work in Architecture, Engineering, Chemistry, Letters, Jurisprudence, etc. And in this aggregation of drill in the many lines of business at a center is found the economy of a division of labor in the same. For instance, the medical student needing drill in chemistry would get it from a chemist who, as teacher, would have his specialty of adapting it to the need of medical students, as now; on the other hand, the same or an associate chemist could in the one laboratory give the needed drill in chemistry to the apprentice in metallurgy or pharmacy. The rise of the Universities as now ap-

pears has its reality in the aggregation of special lines of drill which makes it necessary for Chemistry, for instance, to sustain its relation to Medicine, to Mining, Farming, Food, etc., in a centralized movement of the School. Indeed, the reality of the University as now existing is but an aggregation of economic phases of drill in lines of knowledge as applying to the apprentice, but without full and practical recognition of the principle. "Higher education" reduced to reality, or life, is the more advanced drill. In the greater part, the present University needs to be ordered, like other phases of the School, on the notion of the apprenticeship. As it now stands, under its present disorganization relative to life, the University is, of course, the Great Disconnected. But, nevertheless, we thus gain the School movement as centralizing in all its features at the Regional University and at the Central University of the country as a whole.

It may be noted in general that both the apprentice and the master of a trade will seek the University as affording intercourse with centralized skill. It is presumable that the apprentice in every line of work will receive some portion of his drill here. And men will more than now, in greater reality of the experience of life, find their sympathies and interests return to their Alma Mater.

The so-called Trade School may be understood as an attempt of the Schools to get their reality in a movement toward the apprenticeship. How far they are away from the actual apprenticeship as veritable doing is understood when we presume them working on life at their bench and in their laboratories. In walking through them we ask to be brought to the students who are working in construction of an ocean liner or a five-master, a city sewer, a twenty-story grain elevator or public office building, a tubular bridge or pier caisson, a locomotive or railroad car, an electric dynamo or motor, a steam heating plant, a Winchester rifle or dynamite gun, a forty-foot steel girder, an irrigation system, a web press and stereotyping plant, a telescope, a lighthouse, a Waltham watch, a stone dry-dock, a street pavement or macadam road, a

chilled plow, a harvester or flouring mill, an ice plant; the timbering of a level in the Anaconda mine, a sewing machine or cooking range, a Bessemer blast, a rolling-mill plant; or we ask to be brought to the student who is learning to manipulate an oyster bed, a celery farm, learning horticulture in Fairmount Park, or learning cutlery and glass; the boy or girl diamond setting, or making hypodermic needles, plug tobacco, granulated sugar; the beginner quarrying or working in granite; the pupil learning to handle a threshing machine, the one gaining place in a thousand spindle mill; the learner handling a fishing smack or a half-million mailing list of a morning daily, the pupil who is attaining to practical reporting, the one who is learning to cook a porterhouse, or learning in the actual to trephine the skull and set a leg.

And though such institutions in minor degree project their pupils upon actual craft, they carry within themselves the unreality that those working in them are not altogether performing in the actual. A student at the lathe in them is not making a car-axle that is to be used under direct demand. And the child who is laying brick on a dummy wall is in a like unreality. This apart and hypothetical doing it is found in practice carries much to be unlearned, as well as learned. These schools find their larger place in advance toward the one system in organization of the apprentice, getting away from the unreality of playing apprentice. The real apprenticeship, the real School, carries the responsibilities and exactions of the daily round; it inclines to leave makeshift and build into the empire of the world routine.

We may discover a marked reality in the Trade Schools if we detect in them the possibilities of making an out-leading in the organization of the apprenticeship. If Mr. Armour in his Institute at Chicago, for instance, should reach the need of arranging an apprenticeship in various lines of business and then use his Institute as phase of affiliated drill, we could more connect his School with life. A student apprenticed to some machine shop in the city could come to the Institute for the portion of the day

that he was out of shop. The lathe at the Institute might then find practical place and reality in some technical drill, or instruction, fitting the pupil's work in the shop. Along with this there would be the necessary drill in metallurgy, mathematics and what else was needed. In the same way Mr. Armour's manager of the Institute, representing the organizer of apprenticeship, could arrange to have the girls of the School work in a millinery shop for a portion of the day, or such plan. Like the others, they would report to the Institute for the collateral drill, where they would learn requisite matters about color or other technique, joined with so-called book work. To fit the habits of the shops, students could be apprenticed in pairs or trios, one for the first third or first half day and the others the remainder of the day or on alternate days or every third day, etc. If the need presented, through finding difficulty in arranging the apprenticeship with the shops in all cases, Mr. Armour has the alternative of starting his own shops to some extent, which he is in a position to do—the thing becoming popular and advancing from this to entire shop connection, as organizing all apprenticeship at hand. To this purpose, it would appear not unfeasible to establish shops covering different trades of the town. A girl applying to the Institute, saying she wanted to learn millinery, for instance, would be told: "As you like; take this card to Station F, Millinery, Madison Street. Report to your table there every forenoon from ten to twelve and then come here in the afternoon from two to four." Things made up-stairs in the shop are sold over the counter on the ground-floor at prices which attract buyers. And so with other feasible trades. Mr. Armour, of course, has his own lines of business, with which he could first connect, if desirable.

A liberal education has its basis in technical training, and is the fuller bearings of such training. Thoroughness in a trade, or occupation, extends to everything else. If life is action, education in the broadest sense is experience with this action. But experience with life has no meaning as merely dilettante or sentimental reading about ac-

tion, or circumstance. It means experience with life through one's own action, let our reading go for what it is worth. One knows life broadly through knowledge of the widest impingement or bearings of his own doing—through his own technical art. If a horseshoer is narrow in his education it is because he is not acquainted with his business. All about any business means knowledge of its development, its evolution in the social body, and this touches the remotest chord in story. We might say to a horseshoer, "Do we shoe our horses much the way the Egyptians did"? If he should fail in his answer he lacks in technical knowledge. If thoroughgoing, he is supposed to know why he does not shoe a horse in a certain way; or, if the Egyptians never shod their horses, the shoer could know this, and all. Again, one might say to such artist, "I wonder that they never find horseshoes in the prehistoric mounds of America." Should he fail of answer he would be marked as a man ignorant of the broader leadings of his business and, though he were a good horseshoer in the essential hand-work, he would be a narrow man in his trade and not widely educated. Still, he would have the basis of extending his education, or contact, and if brought to a knowledge of any of these things would tend to grasp them as one and intimate with his instincts. This is the law of mind, that it tends to enlargement through its more intimate contact. It is seen in so simple an illustration as occurred the other day when a butcher asked a Parisian how they cut up a beef in France. Continuing the prospect, we see that the larger horseshoer would know about Bessemer steel in its process and its superficial chemistry, he would know the romance of how an idea transformed an age. "To-night," said Bessemer, after a successful blast, "I see the iron industries of the world fade into nothingness." The tales in a steel shoe have moved the flesh. A shoer would know the parts and action of the animal he foots, which in its fuller bearings touches man in his evolution. There is in this Harvey's romance of the pulse and Bell's annal of the circuit of sense.

There are man's ventures by flood and field in the coming of the centaur to the fabulous Montezumas. And if the workman finds hardly reason for shoeing horses all the time instead of dabbling in a number of trades and doing none, finds ill that this is his freedom, he would fall down in a knowledge of his business where it touches the economics of the State. For horseshoeing reduces at the last to sociology. And the story in a horse-shoe nail is the life of man. So, if a singer or a gardener or a fisherman has a passing familiarity with the points which his trade touches he will be found a wide person, able to compass a knowledge of existence. Let anybody put this upon his own line of action and become aware how in its full his technical occupation opens out to embrace life.

In reference to the insistence that classical education is needed to develop mind in the sense of logical method, the answer is that such development is experienced in the technical action of any field. Logical method is to relate the parts of anything. Or, the logical method is to do things. If one will pause and look at the web of paper running from its reel into a Hoe press and follow it as it flashes through its windings of cylinders, gummers and folders, until it appears a newspaper laid and counted, he will gain the meaning of the precision of mind as logical method. The master that assembled this machine was able to think connectedly to the printed and folded paper, and no wheel or screw which he put into the machine violated this purpose. This action of doing definite things in definite ways, making them practical in the economy of life, is the logical method. It exists in all the phases, or avocations, of life, and one can hardly say that a given phase is more logical than another.

Again, more technically, after the mental language, we say that the aspect of a thing in its parts is subject, and the aspect of a thing in its parts related, or objectified as functional in the State, is object; it is the action of all the parts equal to their common doing—the equation of

subject and object. Logic is this equation of an exact action.

So that we are able to place the notion of logical method in the ancient languages by seeing that it is one department of technical knowledge, making its call upon men having special adaptability in this direction, and answering to some demand. The classical student remains to us, but under directness of life. As phase of letters, presumably, men will be trained to this business. This does not prevent any one studying the classics on his own motion, outside of his regular business, as now ; but it can not be imposed upon men as something peculiarly a development of mental method. We dispose of the notion of a need to study Greek and Latin with the purpose of the development of logical method per se, by seeing that it is only one field of all the various fields of logic.

This returns to normal relation an exaggeration of the Schools. The classical study can hardly have more ground to call a man to its particular field for development than another field can have to call the classics to it. The classical logician, since we may call him so, would stumble if required to superintend the making and assembling of the parts of a Hoe press, a marine engine, a charlotte-russe, or a rubber boot. The lesson of this is that these are not in his line, or technique, of logic. Logic is business, and the Doctor of Classics is engaged in another kind of business than the equating of crank and beam, flour and eggs or cloth and gum to economic demand ; his is another equation of subject and object.

The waste of the present stage of the School and the impairment of the child. It might be shown that boys and girls of the age of eighteen have more than wasted two-thirds of their time in the present one-sided School, as apart from the life connection. Added to this time thrown away there has been a proportionate unreality that has shortened better powers. An illustration of the former may be had in the case of any observer if he ask him-

self, for instance, where he learned most of his geography. The usual reply of practical men to this question is that they learned it through their traveling about, and the telegraph wire as of the daily newspaper or other movement of intelligence.

Geography within applied meaning is not alone the pointing out of place. This is the least of it. Geography is the earth viewed in commercial movement, including all the interests of men—the description of the earth's surface. The first geography of Cuba is its life-making exchange with the world. This is its production of sugar and tobacco. More of its geography is its other conditions drawing human interest: Its palms, its luxuriant growths, its tropic warmth inviting the climatized, the habits of its life, its story. The first geography of the Dakotas is their hard wheat; more, their healthy cattle and sheep and high quality of meats, the drawn-out twilight, the long fires of winter, the inviting cold, the fur coat, the exhilarating air. Educators are coming thus to recognize geography, asserting its embodiment as the commercial, or moving, earth. The text now supplies reference to the climate, products, habits, lines of carriage, etc. But it is the part of geography that cannot be conveyed in the present organization of the School as apart from the life connection. It must come from the wire and the sojourn in many parts.

We will say that we forgot most of the geography learned at school. It did not stay with us. Reading and repetition did not avail. The psychology of it is that in school we did not get it as action, or associate with life, and so did not get it at all.

And we can but note that the schoolmen themselves are speaking, among other things, against the waste of time in grammar and certain phases of arithmetic. They say that the mathematics given to the children is not practical and fails of lodgment with them. It is noticed that the other day a medical student, graduate of an academy, was when called upon unable to compute twelve and one-half per cent. in terms of its equivalent fraction, one-

eighth. Doctor Harris declares there is too much memorizing. This, of course, can only mean that there is in the School too much apartness from action, from the apprenticeship.

Upon the stultifying and dwarfing effect of the unreal method of the School, men of affairs have given their verdict. They speak against the academic graduate, saying that he has lost the power of precision of thought in contact with things.

The improvements of the apprenticeship comprise growth in healthful conditions. The big machine shops, factories, stores and offices are coming to be built for the wellbeing of workmen; the large and airy shoe-factories are better than the houses of the people used to be, and the great department stores have their advancement in the direction of light and air and other ordered conditions. A walk through the De Vinne Press Building, the *Herald* Building, the Tiffany Glass Company and the Sloane Carpet concern, in New York, the new *Cosmopolitan* plant at Irvington, and Mr. Edison's laboratories, finds their appointments a fascination. And the movement is toward the shorter working day. The bricklayers and plasterers of New York now go to work at eight and go home at five. With the apprentice, work is for the half day, the remainder being in the other phase of the School, the collateral drill. The old notion of an apprentice as a slave in a cellar has passed away with the growth of life.

The ethic of the School works out in the release of both child and teacher from the unrealities of a system that thinks to begin life at twenty when it normally begins at birth. It frees the child from the tragedy of growing up a loafer; it absolves the teacher from instrumentality in this crime. It emancipates the parent from watching the wreck of a child. It frees all men from the bondage of contact with the dilettante and the shortcomings of service which such breed.

Property in the School is the administrative control of the system by the School Class. Education owns as use-control all the buildings and accoutrements of the

schools. In support of the unified system the Class puts the cost price upon its goods. These goods are specific amount of drill to a child. The latter directly, or through guardian, pays for schooling out of its book of exchange stamps, as it pays for its meals or its clothes. We discover in this that free education takes the form of the child's freed conditions to pay for what it gets.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEGATIVE : THE BALLOT

The Negative of the State is the device, or process, whereby action is overruled by majority practice, or voice. This device of Negation is the reality of legislation, which in its final reduction appears as the mandate of the State against certain specific action on the part of any of its members. The outlook is that neither the people at large nor any general body drawn from them can exercise the office of defining action in assumption of technical knowledge which they do not possess. The people at large or a general body representing them cannot say, in point, that a watch is rightly made. None but a technical knowledge can determine this. The people or their general representatives cannot of their own knowledge enact a law defining how watches shall be constructed. Thus, only technical knowledge can determine positive, or productive action, as on lines of division of labor. On the other hand, none but the people at large can determine action in its wider results as affects the State for good or bad ; that is, none but the people can in the end determine action as affects themselves. Only the masses can say that a watch is or is not satisfactory to themselves. In this the people can endorse, or license, favorable action and refuse, or negative, inadequate or vicious proceeding as judged in the one case by its benefit and in the other by its fault. But favorable action calls for no specific regulation or interference and so no specific enactment from the State in order to preserve wellbeing. It is plainly not so with injurious action. This calls for summary interdiction and so specific legislation. But we may see that freedom to exercise Negation has its counterpart, or fulness, in an open license to favorable action,

and that Negation not exercised against any action is an endorsement, or enactment, of such action. It follows that specific legislation springing from the State at large can only take the form of specific mandate against unfitting action as exhibited in its results. As we observe legislation we shall find that Negation is its process in the total. And we come to see that the commonwealth is passing from the more complicated forms of Negation, or legislation, to the simple and more absolute. We have to examine the current practice in legislation in its various aspects to arrive at the negative reduction, upon which the State is now verging.

A phase of legislation is the licensing of the Class by the people to go forward in some action which the Class has proposed, the Class initiating legislation. Any particular line of knowledge as action in the State is to be regarded as possessing the underlying reality of the Class, however much the latter is short in organization. Accordingly, to find the truth of our proposition, we have to reduce legislation so far as may be to the process of licensing action in the various branches of labor, as specialized knowledge in the State. In our observation here we have to go wide enough to assure ourselves that all action, including that seemingly not touched by legislation at all, proceeds on the principle of asking a license from the various legislative vehicles of the State—the Class, as some specialized knowledge, asking it and legislation granting it as enactment of the people.

We are to see, for instance, that legislation as process of licensing a Class to action does not alone refer to the proposal before the supervisor of a county to build a bridge, or a proposal before the higher body to fix the penalty of murder or to change some action in the school, or a proposal before the Congress to put money for a post office :—we are to realize that legislation no more refers to these than to a proposition, not nominally legislation at all, for a change of time on a railroad or for a breech-loading shotgun instead of the old muzzle loader or for the chronometer balance instead of the old pendulum in clocks.

We may take first a session of the supervisors of a county, a lower form of the legislative body, the "county board" as it is sometimes called. The proposition is brought before them to build a county jail. It is introduced by some member of the legislative board. But he got the proposal from the jailer or other person having special knowledge of the needs. If it came from the sheriff, then it came from the Class which has experience and makes provision with respect to the security of prisoners; if we see the sheriff as officer of the court, it came from the Judiciary Class. If it came from some builder with special knowledge of the construction of a prison, having examined the building or otherwise learned its needs, then the proposition to action came from the Architect Class. And a movement which finally brings action through the county board is that through publicity upon the need of action, seen in the fact of the imperfections of the building—items of which were the escape of prisoners and other knowledge of its unfitness—the county at last voted to have a new jail. They then elected a county board with the understanding that it forward the construction. We see that the reality of the so-called public agitation bringing about this liberty to build the jail is that specialized knowledge as Class has been asking the privilege, through publicity by the press and the street confab, of acting on a need it has advanced. The final vote of the county appropriating money for the purpose is at once the license to do it and the warrant to the Architect Class to tax the people for the service, the tax being the practical or effectual license. Anything the county legislative board does in its stricter capacity is to act as agents of the people on the method of the license.

When the more local legislative body, the village or city common council, orders a side-walk laid it is either remotely or nearly at the request of some one skilled in these matters—the Class which builds the highways. The people as a body, acting through the common council, licensed the Architect Class or the Highway Class to act on this suggestion to a public economy.

Next we have the "state legislature." We may find it passing a law, so-called, as recently at Albany, regarding the organization of the schools in the large cities of New York, binding them together under a central city management, or head, removing the individual schools from the immediate prey of the ward politician. This was done after a strenuous publicity, expressing the experience and demand of schoolmen everywhere, and after long and arduous lobbying by the educators of the state of New York. This advance of action in the schools in the service of the public was from the inception the suggestion and persistent solicitation of the Class having specialized knowledge in education. The proceeding of the legislature, finally pressed to action, was as agent of the State to license the School Class to go forward with the action proposed by them and to tax the people for the expense involved, the full meaning of license. It is to be said that the schools tax the people for support, though by circuitous method. If there is indirection in the method of collecting the tax, it is because of the present misfit in Exchange.

When the legislature of Minnesota created the medical examining board of that state, said to be a most searching scrutiny of the practitioner of medicine, it did it in response to solicitation and lobbying and the severest publicity, all originating in the Class Medicine. It is plainly seen that it was a licensing of the medical profession to go ahead with the action proposed by them for protecting the public at large and themselves as agents of the public, against ignorant practitioners. The fee which in general the doctor exacts from his patient is licensed as taxation of the public, virtually in the same reality as though money were appropriated for the support of medicine. We may detect this in some proceeding of the State. A doctor who sued for his bill the other day had it cut down by the jury as being an excessive charge. The evidence turned upon the question of the usual fee by doctors. This regulation of charge for the support of medicine is in effect a specific

license to tax, in form and amount, the latter based upon what the Medical Class as a body reasonably needs for its support, that is, roughly speaking, based upon taxation, or exchange, at cost. The reality of all taxation is, in the end, whatever money is taken from a person or a body of persons for the cost of service performed. The State now passing, the outworn State, is mixed in its forms of taxation; but the underlying reality, of whatever form, is the obtaining of legitimate pay for public service. "Public" taxation, or taxation through the common treasury, we have seen in its reduction as a form of the public registration of exchange. And the underlying reality of the "public" tax, putting registration aside, is the transaction of exchange itself,—the barter involved in it. For instance, if money is taken from a farmer, put into the public treasury and then paid out to a school teacher, it is virtually trading the farmer's work for the school teacher's work, no matter what the form of passing the two commodities may be. The reality of the public transaction, therefore, is the exchange of division of labor involved. It is public because the public life is dependent upon it. Nothing can be more public than the underlying process of the State itself. The "public" tax, regarded as a form of making the exchange, does not add anything to the public character of the act, except it promote more exactness in exchange, thus making it more truly division of labor. A doctor's fee, though nominally private, is a public office, in so far as it is a phase of equable barter. A doctor's fee is thus in effect a public tax. Whatever is left of the private view of service is the irregularity and disorganization of exchange involved and its liability to tax either above or below exact trade, being the violation of exchange at cost. Thus, in the logic of advancing organization, private service and private tax are a solecism, not a reality. In the reduction of the State to an organism the private view cannot obtain as practice, but is seen to be a lesion working disorder in practice. The force of this is seen if we conceive the postman going about em-

ployed by this person and that individually, and collecting his pay from them without answering to organization and central control. The mails would at once fall into chaos, anarchy. Taxation through "private" fees by the Medical Class is authorized by the State as an irregular, or not closely registered, form of public collection, but the best that can obtain for the moment. Again, the law creating a "public" health board or quarantine station is an example of a license to medicine on its own leading to go ahead with certain action and tax the people by the method of the communistic assessment, or public treasury, to be regarded, simply, as one of the present mixed forms of taxation.

Continuing our observation, we see that the legislature at Albany allows the railroads to extend their lines and to put on new engines and other equipment, and allows them in ways to advance the efficiency of their service of transportation, as the New York Central in its Empire Express. They are allowed a specific collection, or tax, on passengers and freight in support of this. The charter from the legislature under which the railroads do business is the license of the people to the Transportation Class to act with greater or less freedom on its own technical knowledge of service. The fact that the transportation body overtaxes the public or underserves them, does not alter the main fact that, whatever the railroads do, the essential service has at base the application to the public by the Class for a license to act. The fact that in many cases the railroads do not have to seek special license to act is because such action is covered in their original charter. The fact also that in certain directions, as of ordinary business proceeding, the railroad goes ahead and acts without so much as the charter license from the legislature does not obviate the fact that it is licensed by the people. The custom in the State of allowing ordinary business to go on without having specific permit is the common license granted by the State to all Classes. The railroad in this particular, common to all Classes, simply has a wider-open license permitting it

initiative in all directions which do not conflict with the ordinary rules of commerce, that is, as straight dealing between men.

We meet next the National legislature, the Congress. We find it, under certain complicated conditions of mortgage and bonding, as phase of exchange, empowering the Railroad Class on its own initiative to build the Pacific railroads and allowing the tax for the work. At the solicitation of the post office the Congress permits the opening of mail routes, etc., with its attendant tax.

The one phase of legislation which we have yet to bring within our question is that of the statute-making defining offences and fixing penalties therefor and defining property rights under the private holdings. Since in the organic view the latter ceases to be a question for adjudication, the concept of property changing from holdings to use, we have left in the main to consider the reality of legislation in the statute touching the disposition of crimes, running from the simple breach of the peace to theft, bigamy and murder. To bring this under our proposition, that legislation comprehends the licensing of the Class to act on its own initiative, we have but to refer it to the action of the Judiciary Class. We need only to see that legislation essentially makes laws and statutes relative to criminal procedure, their penalties, etc., on the suggestion and solicitation of the Judiciary. It is generally recognized and is the common saying that all laws are made by lawyers, that is, by officers of the court, for such the lawyers are, and without fiction, being intimate in its process. If the suggestion to legislation in relation to crime does not come from the lawyer-judge on the bench or the lawyer-solicitor before the bar, it comes from some one who has had special contact in these matters and has directed his chief thought to the criminal field. In the latter case it may be some manager of a reformatory institution or some student in criminal science. But from whatever source the suggestion to action comes, it has its origin in the specialized knowledge logically be-

longing to the Judiciary Class. Of the reality of any bill like the statutes we are considering, when brought before the legislature, it may be said that through practice the judiciary has found the condition incorporated in it a necessary procedure. It is through the more or less free licensing of the Judiciary Class by the State, as of a division of labor in democracy, that we have arrived at our present status of the disposition of offences.

Putting aside the disorder and complications of a current legislation, in the circuitous taxation by the "private" fee and the communistic treasury, and other lameness incident to the movement of the present stage of the State, we may be able to see, with the illustrations given, that any form of legislation has phase of reality as a license to the Class on its own initiative, either through the positive and formal enactment or through the unwritten public consent.

On complete reduction we discover that legislation has its fuller process in putting a Negative upon the Class in any action which is adverse to the majority experience of the State ; and we find that the license to favorable action is logically included in the "No" as exercised against injurious action. We may take as one case the legislation, or license, making the charter of a railroad company. The charter grants to the company before breaking ground certain leeway in initiative action. In this the Whole prescribes license to specific doing. The various powers of the company are enumerated. For instance, the charter prescribes, among other things, expressed or understood, the right of eminent domain and permits a tax of two or three cents per mile on passengers. And further, as license properly belonging to the charter, we have the general statute affecting the powers of corporations. But the logic of all this definite grant of action to the company is that action not enumerated or understood as of common custom is prohibited—has a No upon it. This unwritten side of the charter is in effect a statement by the commonwealth of Negation in certain action, directed to the transportation body. The grant to the Rail-

road Class permitting certain action carries in it the refusal to allow it to do certain other things. If the State had little or no concern touching the things that should not be done, it might dispense with all machinery for qualifying action. It is not the things that are done right that the State is exercised about, but the things that may be harmful. In other words, it is for asserting the No that the State erects its machine of legislation. And this No, expressed or implied, has its meaning as the restriction of every kind of action that is detrimental to the Whole.

If we look at the Judiciary Class, we see that the meaning of the statute as making prohibition on the action of the courts is indeed clear. In fact, the very meaning of the statute is as restriction upon the power of the court. Take the law fixing the penalty of murder at death or life imprisonment. It may be considered a charter, or license, to the judiciary to act specifically thus, but the competent meaning of it is that the people prohibit the judiciary to act on a rule fixing a less penalty. So every statute affecting the processes of the courts is a specific license to act in directions supposed to be beneficial ; but these predicate an underlying Negative upon opposing action considered detrimental.

The principle of the Negative is exhibited more specifically in the injunction. When a person or institution develops action apparently adverse to the Whole, the State has through phase of its legislation, either by statute or custom, made it possible to put a more or less direct No upon such action. The proceeding is to ask from the court a stay pending a hearing on the facts as to whether given action carries any phase of injustice, or injury. The court finally determines to prohibit the action complained of or else to license it ; in the latter case, to dissolve the injunction, thus refusing to negative the action.

Of like force, we need to call attention to the direct prohibitive laws, more or less numerous. These are the laws regulating Sunday and holiday observances, the restric-

tions on hunting and fishing, the forestry laws, the law forbidding the union of church and State, that proscribing distinctions among citizens on account of color or other conditions, the prohibition of traffic in liquors, those interdicting the sale of tobacco to minors, laws limiting employment of children in factories and on the stage, laws limiting length of a day's labor, etc. These need only be mentioned, as they plainly have their reality in the specific No of legislation.

Putting aside the complications and mixture of method surrounding both the charter and the statute, the reality of the whole matter appears to be that the State licenses the Class to act freely, within certain equable limits; but in doing this it logically defines what action is prohibited. In addition to this, it specifically names, in certain cases, what action is prohibited. And since in whatever face we meet it the legislative process is thus reducible to the Negative of injurious action, we conclude, in the total, that the legislative agent is erected as machine of Negation directed against injurious action, but logically carrying at the same time the license to all action not injurious—sometimes specifically defining the latter, but often leaving it to inference as of ordinary rules of business.

The present machinery of legislation, the device of the Negative and its unequivocal license, is obstructive to action by the Class and obstructive to the will of the people. We can see this in striking form in the licensing of some Class to act that has more progressed in organization, as the post office. The action of the machinery giving the mails leave of process has little that is not obstructive. We have already seen that more or less directly through unyielding legislation, summed up as Government interference or restriction, the Post Class is prevented from attaining fuller organization in the way of fundamental technical control. The members of this Class in all likelihood have reached the point where for the purpose of more efficiency and their own closer interests they would wish to elect their heads of service. The present restriction through the legislative body prevents this.

Again, the existing heads of the service see an advance in the Government coming into more control of the postal cars or other conditions of moving mail, as recommended by former Postmaster Vilas. And they want to extend the service to the telegraph and telephone, as recommended by former Postmaster Wanamaker. In this the present method of the license acts to impede. The post cannot go ahead to own its cars and build its telegraph and telephone lines, or possess the existing lines by purchase, if that is as cheap. The people at large wish to grant improvement to the mails, but are hampered by the licensing machinery, which in this instance is the Congress.

Turning to another Class in advanced stage of organization, the judiciary, we ask after its freedom of action as affected by the present system. The conditions are found to retard. The complications which surround the action of the Judiciary Class have a feature, common in legislative obstruction to other Classes, in the loss of time between the concept of a bill and its final passage into law. Before putting their concept of action into operation they have to wait upon the legislature for weeks, months, and sometimes years. In such a case, on finally receiving license to act, as of the statute, the judiciary has found that it needs presently to change its concept, action having demonstrated a fault. Again, instead of being able to move immediately upon their experience, they must solicit a legislative body composed in the main of men having no experience with the needs of the situation. It is as though chemistry to get action had first to announce a new formula and then lobby it through a legislature that might be in measure ignorant of what was asked of them. Neither the legislature nor Judiciary Class can know in all particulars the valid results of a law until it is tried in action, but the judiciary would be supposed the best judge of its own need. We encounter the hampering legislation in the not infrequent condition of the courts admitting inability to deal with some situation on its merits. The statute built to fit a certain general run of cases does not fit the particular case which it is

called upon to adjust. It is not an uncommon thing to have the judge indicate that the statutes prevent equity in some issue. Confronted by conditions of injustice in a statute, the judge, tacitly admitting it, will say that he can but enforce the law as he finds it, not as he would like to have it. The "court of equity," in part adjusting some of these deflections, has its meaning in an attempt of the judiciary to get freer action—to be able to go more on the facts. And under so-called liberal interpretation of the law, the judge and jury in many cases take a leeway which the statute does not specifically give them, practically appealing from the hampering legislation. This finds its instance where the judge gives merely a nominal fine or sentence in cases of a verdict of guilty; in some cases the jury refuses to convict owing to the severity or inapplication of the statute.

We see medicine struggling to establish some necessary rules for its own wellbeing and in the interest of the public, and having to combat an obdurate and indifferent legislature for a decade—as in the case of the physicians in Michigan who have been attempting for years to compel adequate apprenticeship, that is, proficiency in the practice of medicine. The Medical Class has been repeatedly denied the necessary license, or law so-called, to establish this rule.

There has been much complaint by makers of jellies and jams that they cannot secure protective regulations, that is, the privilege of making proper rules for branding inferior goods. And if in some states they have secured such a license, the enactment by the legislature of the proper rule, they still find that they can get no adequate provision for its enforcement, are not allowed to make the proper rule providing its efficiency.

With the schools it is proverbial how slow are advances through obstructive legislation. For years the educators of a number of states have been trying to bring in the "township system," under a single township head, as bettering the desultory district system, and have been repeatedly denied in this by the legislature.

Further, as more directly obstructing the will of the people in the exercise of the mandate, we know that the nominal machinery of Negation is often inoperative to check baneful action ; the legislative body and the courts, as such machinery, become party to offenses against the Whole, not acting in unison with the expression of the State. The proceeding by which the people in this emergency assert the No has the obstruction of the self-same legislative machinery, the drawbacks of which we have found instance ; the people have through a long wait to change the judges or the legislature, putting in men who will reverse action which has been thought harmful—and not infrequently the people are still denied by their new representatives in legislature or court.

Altogether, this may be thought to make up sufficient reference to reaffirm obstruction to the free action of the Class and obstruction to the free exercise of the Negative by the people in the present crude machinery under the various forms of legislation—the charter, the statute, etc. . *The simple process for the Negative upon injurious action of the Class, carrying the counterpart of the simple license to unhampered action by the Class.* As meeting this we need first to abrogate entirely the legislative body extraneous, or extra, to the Class—the county board, state legislature, the Congress, and all others—as having ceased usefulness. In place of it, the State delegates to the Class full legislative power as regards its own technical action, but within the one general restriction, or Negative, that legislation by the Class may not antagonize the interests of the Whole. As specifically defining the latter the State when need is accomplishes its Negative, puts the No upon injurious action, by the direct ballot.

We have to become more fully aware that legislation by an extra-legislative body is a passed function in the State. We do this by recognizing that enactment as prescribing lines of procedure has passed to the Classes themselves. In this direction, legislation, or law-making, passes into the rule-making function by the several

Classes according to their technical requirements in forwarding the general good. For instance, the Judiciary Class may be said in its decisions, penalties, forms, etc., to legislate on the fact as regards the general interest. The court is in effect constituted its own legislative body at any juncture, if we may see legislation as having its reality on the one hand in a rule of action, whatever its source, endorsed by the Whole. In the same reality, the rules for running a railroad in the interest of the public are seen as laws, that is, forms of proceeding endorsed by the Whole. The time-table of the railroad is one such rule. By this we see that laws and their administration have a reality extending to all rules of action which are specifically or through custom acquiesced in, or licensed, by the people. The legislation as rule of proceeding by the court in the one instance and of the railroad in the other has its parallel in action by each of the several Classes in the State without exception. Law in its widest definition thus becomes the normal rules of proceeding established by any division of the State as qualified by the interests of the Whole. These rules are apprehended as the statutes of the State. Each Class must, in the nature of things, make its own rules as methods or laws of action, and the State cannot delegate these to any body extra and extraneous to the several Classes. For, in general, every rule of action is technical and lodges wholly in the experience of the technician, as peculiar and belonging to the various lines of specialized knowledge which are the divisions of labor in the State.

In the other direction, all that remains of the nominal legislative body is reduced to a bungling exercise of the Negative, doing nothing more than repeat certain acts of Negation which the Whole has already asserted in the use of the ballot. Where the extra-legislative body has done anything more or less than to repeat a Negative already accomplished by the ballot it has been to obstruct the action of this Negative, or, in other reality, to virtually belie as legislative body the intent for which it was created.

The obvious sweeping conclusion is that the extraneous legislative function, lodging in itself the Negative and the license, has no existence except as an outworn procedure. Thus, in the organic view, the extra-legislative body passes out of existence and the State constitutes each Class a legislative body for itself as directly controlling its own action, subordinate to the general welfare. On the other hand, the State is relieved from the irregularity and obstruction of the indirect Negative and is left free for the machinery, or process, of the direct Negative.

The machine of the Negative, as clearing our proposition, is the method for a prompt registration of the will of the people in putting the No upon any action by the Class which is deemed opposed to the interests of the State. This, in short, is the Automatic Negative, or the Automatic Voting Battery, whereby any person dissatisfied or disagreeing with the results of any action by any Class can forthwith register a No. A person who agrees with a particular action of the Class assents without the medium of machinery of any kind. If there is no Negative it follows that the action is endorsed by most. However, the exact status of the public will is shown by the degree of the Negative registration. In relation to any particular action we may assume that a dozen individuals out of a thousand in a community on a given day register a No against it. If through a series of hours or days the registration grows in considerable degree it takes on a phase of great interest. The bulletins from the different points of the country as to the state of the Negative registration regarding some action the people seem disposed to reverse contribute to the great dramas of the news in the Organic State. It is like the election returns in the less ordered State, but with the difference that the status of feeling can be more normal. There need not be the strained excitement of a people growing out of the predicament that action is not easily corrected. In the organized State there is the knowledge that nothing absolutely injurious is fastened upon the

people against their will for a great length of time. And there is the element of sufficiency in it whereby the people need not feel that they are the creatures of unequal conditions or the creatures of manipulation by a bandit element extraneous to the State and living upon its vitals—as the “machine” in politics.

The Negative registration builds upon automatic integrity. Its process shapes on the reduction of the present voting machine to the simplicity of registering a single item by the touch of a key. This single item is simply whatever is to be voted against. There is a battery of machines sufficient to cover a number of items in anticipation of the need to register more than one Negative at one time.

The process of the registration appears essentially as follows: A man objecting to some act or person and desiring to use the formal ballot strikes with the typewriter keys of the machine the name of the act or person that his Negative is directed against. This appears in sizable print on the bulletin, or face, of the machine. He then touches the key marked “No,” which is the automatic numeral register, the figure (1) appearing under the writing on the face of the machine, indicating one Negative against the act or person named. A woman wishing to vote a Negative against the same person or act has but to touch the key marked “No,” the figure (2) appearing on the bulletin in place of the previous figure, indicating two Negatives. And so the voting continues, the figures on the face always indicating the total Negative.

The absolute check on the ballot is that every man voting registers his name. This is done in duplicate on a paper reel which is a part of the typewriter attachment. The voter prints his name and then signs in writing opposite. The test of accuracy, or legitimacy, in the vote is whether, at any time, it agrees with the number of names, the total of these being carried forward by automatic numerals each time a registration is made. The list of names is, of course, open to inspection

that it may be known whether anybody has improperly voted. A repeater would be jailed and dealt with by the judiciary arm according to its rules, or statutes, provided in such cases. The repeater's vote would be thrown out, he not being a citizen while under the ban of the State. Should more votes appear than there were names registered, they would not be counted ; in other words, a voter could not repeat, could not have his vote counted, without he registered his name. But the upshot must be that no one will repeat his vote, since detection is an absolute certainty. Should anybody register another person's name as voting, he would be dealt with by the judiciary as a forger. And such a vote could not avail, because the person it is attributed to would deny it ; if he did not, it would not be a forgery, but would be his vote.

As to the "official count," the reality is that the ballots are officially counted as registered ; the registration of the machine as certified, or witnessed, by the public is the office of counting. The public simply acquiesces in a tally-sheet as absolute as mechanics or gravitation. The reporting and record of the count is done by News, virtually as now. The general summation and publicity of the vote and, of course, its more permanent registration would be, as now, the news process of the papers. The check on the accuracy of News is the public, or official, count—everybody being cognizant of the registration in their own locality. Its final record is thus attested by the public. The supervision of the machines is given over to News, being a phase of the truthful reporting, or news collection. The public holds News responsible for the efficiency of the machines, in the sense that it holds them responsible for truthful news. For its own security News preserves the reels, or vote actual, until it is certain that no one questions the accuracy of the record.

The office of News in reporting and filing the count obtains because the accuracy of the vote depends upon its strict publicity from beginning to end. And News is

the machine of publicity. We look to News for full information regarding every phase of action in the State. That is its business—information on everything. The record is permanent because the News files are permanent and because News must supply all information on reasonable demand.

The natural economy in registration of the Negative would classify the machines into those for the general public Negative and those for the local public Negative ; and those for the general Negative of each Class and those for the local, or divisional, Negative of each Class. They would be located in the first instance in a place central for the general public in each community ; and in the second instance, in a place convenient in a community for each industry, the rendezvous, or headquarters, of each Class.

Manifestly, there can be no secret ballot with the automatic Negative register. This works as a check, as far as publicity can go, on any improper use of the Negative. The old notion of a secret ballot grew out of the fear, under the disordered Exchange, which a man had that he might be coerced in his vote by some one having the power to deprive him of life ; that is, to deprive him of food, housing, clothing, fuel, or any other condition which we call living. In its development Exchange can no longer be perverted, and the fear latterly becomes that without an open register the voter will use his ballot to coerce his fellow, which in the light he would not do. And we recognize that the existing ballot is little more than nominally secret ; in any community it is commonly known how a man votes ; it is known whether he is a "Democrat," a "Republican," a "Populist." Men affect to openness in the use of the ballot at the present time ; they do not like to say that they cannot own to their vote.

The practical step towards this freer expression of the Negative and the open license to action by the Class is doubtless the "initiative and referendum," on which we see multiplied pamphlets and which has already as-

sumed a popular movement under such name as, "Direct Legislation by the People." A pamphlet by F. A. Eddy, "The Referendum Principle,"* affords a popular report of this subject. Briefly stated, the "initiative" allows any citizen to propose a measure of law to a legislative body when such proposal is backed by a thousand signatures, more or less. This obliges the legislative agent to pass upon it either by raising it into law or rejecting it. The "referendum" provides for submitting all laws passed by legislative bodies to a popular vote, to be rejected or accepted, at the next regular election or by special election, as may appear desirable. The so-called "imperative mandate" is a part of the machinery of this and provides that the constituents of a public officer elected by popular ballot may at any time recall him by a majority vote, through electing his successor.

The working of the Class government in the formulation and action of its rules, as laws binding upon the Class and the Whole : illustrating the Negative by the Whole as controlling the Class, and the Negative by the Class as controlling the person. Before entering upon the detail of this we have to become formally cognizant of the principle involved, showing the relation of the Negative to the legislation by the Class. This is, first, that the province of the Whole by which it exercises the Negative makes the Whole responsible for any action by the Class. That is, if the Whole does not exercise the Negative in relation to a given rule of action by the Class it has endorsed such rule and is responsible for it. And, conversely, if the Whole exercises the Negative on some rule of action by the Class it is then responsible for the abrogation of such action. We thus determine that the Whole through the Negative controls the Class and is responsible for its several acts, or, through the province of the Negative by the State the action of the Class is made the action of the Whole.

If, second, we extend this principle to the process within

*The Humboldt Publishing Company, New York (10 cts.).

the Class, giving the Class the Negative, or ballot, as relates to action within itself, we have the Class subordinating the person and responsible for his action, with the Whole in turn responsible for him through control of the Class. The working of the Negative between the Class and the person involves in kind the same proceeding as between the Whole and the Class. This is that the person as unit within the Class, just as the Class as unit within the State, is delegated entire freedom of action, but relative to the Class and working within and subordinate to its interests, which in the end are the interests of the Whole. Each member of a Class is constituted a legislative body as respects his or her place, or action, within the Class. And this means that the person is free to act under the rules established by his Class and subject to the Negative of his Class. For example, a locomotive engineer has entire liberty of action within the rules of running his train as established by the head of his division. And the head of division supervising the engineer has the same liberty of action within the established rules of the Class as affecting him. A manager may in his judgment suspend or censure an engineer for cause, but subject to the action of a head above him who may acquiesce or who may negative him under rules which make him amenable to the wider movement of the Class. And supposing the suspension or other punishment of the engineer is acquiesced in by all the heads, or officers, above the manager in question, there is a final consideration which makes the punishment of the engineer lawful. This consideration is the acquiescence of the Class as a whole, which so far sees justice in the act of disciplining the engineer that it does not by a majority vote put a No upon this act of punishment, does not negative the action of the heads of the Class who supervise the engineer. And on the other hand if the Class negatives the action of the heads of service in their punishment of the engineer, it is responsible for slack service, should such result. And the latter being the case, the Class as a body is in danger of a reversal of

its act through a Negative by the Whole, the latter in the end being thus responsible for the individual's act.

This is in measure the present working of the Railroad Class or the Post Class or any other body advanced in organization, except that the Class as a whole cannot now freely exercise the Negative on the action of the person, and so make his action logically or more positively the action of the whole Class; and the absence of the free Negative by the Whole makes the latter less responsible for the Class action and individual action. In illustration we see that a manager of a railroad division at the present time has sole charge and direction of the instruments and employees of his division, but subject to higher heads of management and to the more general rules created by these heads. Subject to these rules he has absolute freedom of action to perform the best service possible. If he blunders and does not show capability he is called to account by the management above him and may be absolutely negated, even to the extent of reduction in the service to some less exacting place or summary dismissal. But we see that the Railroad Class as a body cannot now negative an official should he wrongfully discharge a man or, in another instance, if he use a whole coach or a whole train for a champagne jaunt. Nor, on the other hand, can the State put a negative upon the Class in misuse of power or waste of property should it by acquiescence become responsible for such acts of officials.

Having thus raised the principle which makes the Whole responsible for the Class action and which makes the Class and the Whole responsible for the act of the person, we may proceed to touch the actual working of it in the particular incident. To begin, we may suppose that the head of transportation decides to improve the service of "limited" trains between New York and San Francisco by five hours. In this matter he is constituted a legislative agent in himself within the general limits or rules established by the transportation body. But before acting in the matter he would be supposed to know his

ground. He would be tolerably sure that he could do it. He would have consulted with heads of divisions covering the territory of service and presumably would know the feeling at large of the members of the Transportation Class. Feeling sure of his ground he posts a notice of a change of time to take effect in ten days or whatever period answers to the convenience of the public, to whom he must finally account. The principle here involved is that both the Class and the public judge him by his action and they no more think of interfering with his liberty of movement, no more think of limiting his technical responsibility, than they think of interfering with a surgeon in amputating a leg. The servant of the Class and the public has to be judged by the results of his action. Accordingly, at the end of the given notice, the new time-table takes effect and for the most part changes the time-tables of the entire country. We may suppose that the Class acquiesces in the new rule or that it looks upon the thing as an experiment and reserves its judgment. In any event the Class as a body does not use its Negative against the rule, and it continues in force as far as the Class is concerned. By this the Class has so far endorsed the rule of the head of service, making it the law of the Class. Likewise the general public may be supposed to like the change or on the other hand to look upon it as a needed experiment, reserving its judgment until it shall have been more fully tried. By refraining from use of the Negative the general public has become responsible for the new rule, enacting it as law of the Whole.

But, again, we have to suppose that the members of the transportation body after experience with the new law become dissatisfied with the exertion put upon them, and not feeling that the gain of a few hours time warrants the extra wear-and-tear and expense begin to express their dissatisfaction through the Class Negative, directed against "Order No. 10," for instance, as embodying the rule to which they object. The Class may have gone on registering its Negative up to a

majority of the Class ; or the president of transportation early seeing the dissatisfaction and recognizing that the experiment is not a success or is not warranted or cannot be sustained may issue an order making some modification of the new time-table, which might be a return to the one in force before the change was made. However, if the president persist until the majority Negative of the Class is told against the rule he is then obliged to make such modification as in his judgment the facts dictate, knowing that he is still held responsible for moving within the lines of a reasonable service ; he fears another Negative by the Class if he is unreasonable.

Meantime the public still acquiesces in the action of the Class, by silence endorsing the change reverting to a slower time-table. It feels with the Class that fast time is not warranted ; among other considerations it is glad to be relieved of the prospect of an increase in the rate of fare involved. Or, on the contrary, we may suppose that the public does not like the reversion to the slower time and negatives it through a series of days, weeks or months, as they conceive that a faster time is warranted, publicity growing in the matter. The transportation body is forthwith compelled to conform to the demands of the public and its members would be supposed to adjust themselves to the new conditions, or the new law, which the State has voted, has enacted. It has now become more primarily the experiment of the people at large, and if they find it to their liking the thing continues in force ; or after sufficient trial of the thing the people may consider that it involves too much strain and expense, whereupon they would themselves negative the change, which would leave it to the Class to enact a new rule, or law, giving slower time.

We have to consider a refractory Class. In relation to the Negative of the public against slow time, in effect legislating fast time, we may propose the extreme case of the transportation body refusing to work to this statute, that is, putting themselves in attitude of rebellion

against the mandate, or law, of the Whole. In this event the Whole may be supposed to negative the transportation body as organ of the State, treating its members as outlaws, whereupon no other organ in the State can do business with them. The result is forthwith that the Exchange books of the Transportation Class are cancelled; without these, the refractory Class would be without food, light, clothes or housing, being turned upon the streets. If we suppose that the Transportation Class makes resistance we are aware that they have to meet the mobilization of the citizen soldier, who has taken charge of the instruments of transportation, with the gatling guns of the State between him and the mob. It is a question of how long refraction can continue. If, coming to reason, secession returns to service, the State can but acquiesce, thus reversing its Negative outlawing the traitorous body, which is by its own act restored to citizenship and returned to functional order. If we raise the question of what the public will do under the interruption of its traffic, the answer is that in the time of emergency the people will run their own cars, as far as they may. For the moment the business in hand is the essential integrity of the State, and lesser things take the fate of war.

In another case we should propose dissension operating within the Class itself. Rebellion of a portion, or division, of the Class against the whole Class is disposed by the majority Negative of the Class; this sustained, or acquiesced in, by the body of the State, the refractory part of a Class is thereby outlawed in democracy, as in the case of the whole Class.

The improbability of resort to extreme measure of coercion against a refractory body lies in the general inertia of men, and in their rational instincts, resting upon peace. That such a pass in extreme measures is a remote conjecture appears in the fact that the part would have to suffer substantial measure of injustice before it would face the bayonets of the State. And so much can intelligence and the love of peace be relied upon to beget

moderation in the relations of men that it is improbable that either the Whole or the Class would bring themselves easily to use the Negative against the rebellious faction. They would delay, hoping to have differences adjust themselves on the fact. The simple publicity of unreasonable action is in the most effect corrective. With the growth of experience situations more and more adjust themselves on the normal interests of men. People less readily stand out against a plain fact. In general view, we become aware that precipitate action in democracy is least to be feared. The opposite is rather to be feared. It has been demonstrated in the history of States that people suffer a long time before taking extreme measures as a body.

Appointing, or legislating, to place and its control belong to the agency which has more immediate responsibility and closer knowledge of the needs, but subject to the Negative Class and public. In the event of the head of Class becoming vacant, it would be filled by vote of the body of officials nearest his grade, the chiefs of primary divisions, as having closer responsibility, or relations, to such service and having technical knowledge of the requirements of the position. Any other place within the Class is supplied by the official next above such place, as having knowledge of the requirements and being responsible for his field of service. Thus, the head of a First Division in the Class is provided by the head of the Class as a whole. The official next below a First Division is supplied by the head of such First Division. This official supplies his immediate subordinate service, including the head of the next lower grade; the latter exercises a similar province in his field; and so on down.

We can take our illustration from the School Class. The National Superintendent of Schools, or School General, would be appointed by the First Division Superintendents, as a body. In turn, any one of these First Division Superintendents would be commissioned by the School General, or head of the Class as a whole. The First Division Superintendent would supply the county

heads of his division. The county head would provide the township heads of his division. The township head supplies the principal of each school under his management. This principal appoints the teachers of his school. Each official also commissions his own secretaryship, who in turn supplies staff of aids, clerks, etc.

As logic of Negation of action in general, the appointing function has power of removal or other Negation of its appointments. And in the same general acceptance of Negation all appointments or removals are subject to a Negative by any portion of the Class or the public so far as in their distinct portions, or divisions, they may be affected and may object.

Men out of work, through dismissal or resignation, return to service by applying at the proper office of the Class to which they belong. They are appointed work fitting their technical ability qualified by their record of service. A man discharged by his managing head for insubordination may be appointed without qualification, his application for work signifying his willingness to conform to regulations. One losing advanced position in his Class of right finds position fitting his technical quality, so far as he is not compromised by his acts. A man having served a penalty for felony is returned to service in the logic of probation of his integrity. A man discharged for incompetency or neglect is given a lower grade, subject to advancement.

With this general view of the legislative movement of the State, in the Whole, the Class and the person, we may raise specifically the sectional aspect, or full divisional movement of the State.

Referring to particulars of the working of the divisional legislation of the Class in relation to the Class as a whole and to the State. It is conceived that the country divides up into divisions which are units and subordinate units of railroad and telegraph movement, tending to minimize the township, county and state lines. Such a division with its included subordinate divisions would be the territory represented by a center with radiating railroad trunks;

or, the same, a region of trunks converging at a center. A given trunk of such Division running toward some other center and finding its limit at the border of an adjoining region, with its branches making a "system," would be a first subdivision, a trunk. And the radiating trolley and street-car lines, cabs and other local transportation would make the capillaries of this system, or trunk. This is the way the country divides up at the present time. But for the obsolete system of the extra-Class legislation and its attendant institution of communistic levy, or public treasury, which divides the country on arbitrary lines, common practice would describe territory, or place, as lying within the region of a given trunk, on the main line or on one of its branches. That is, location would be regarded as tributary to a given railway or water-line: description would be in terms of a Transportation Division—first, of a given chief center, and, second, of location relative to the subdivision, or trunk, reaching this center, and, third, relative to a particular locality on a given railroad line, either of the main stem or branch. Thus, relative to Chicago as a center and accessible to the Michigan Central Railroad, running from Chicago to Detroit, the description of Kalamazoo would be "Kalamazoo, Chicago & Detroit Trunk, Chicago Division." The abbreviation would be "Kalamazoo, Chicago"—since railroad men or mail men would locate a town if described as to its division, simply. It is determined to be in the Chicago Division, or region, because it is on the Chicago half of this trunk line running between two centers, the Chicago region meeting the Detroit region half way. In another direction, Joliet, on the Alton road, would be described as on the Chicago and St. Louis Trunk, Chicago Division. A town, off the main, or trunk, lying adjacent to the so-called Grand Rapids and Indiana railroad, crossing the Michigan Central road north and south, would have its description, if tributary to the Michigan Central and in the Chicago Division, as on a particular branch of the Detroit and Chicago Trunk; the description of Wayland, for instance,

lying north of the trunk, would be "Wayland, Grand Rapids Branch, Chicago and Detroit Trunk, Chicago Division." This, like any other place in the Chicago division, would abbreviate to : "Wayland, Chicago." Chicago as center would be described simply as "Chicago."

This is the present organization of the railroads. On the Michigan Central Railroad, as trunk between Chicago and Detroit, the Detroit train-crew takes the train to the half-way point on the run to Chicago, when it is taken charge of by the Chicago crew, or division. This is practically true on the Michigan Central except that they do not change conductors and brakemen at the demarcation point, Jackson, where they change the engine. Nor is Jackson exactly central, that is, it is not the easy point for making the division between the units. But on the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern railroad between Toledo and Chicago the thing is organized almost exactly on the description given. The train-crew from Toledo as a center takes the train on the way to Chicago to about the half-way point, Elkhart, where the engine is changed and the train taken charge of by the Chicago crew, thus passing out of the Toledo division into the Chicago division. On the other side of the Toledo division a Toledo crew brought the train into Toledo from the point measurably half-way to the regional center on the east.

This is the way mail men now regard it, whatever their terminology may be. It is likewise the telegraph movement, the essential mails, as having its economics in paralleling the railroads. And so natural is this division of the country that it is now the common practice for people to describe their location by reference to the trunk lines running out of the center to which they are tributary, or nearest to which they live. A man living on the Michigan Central, on the half of the line toward Chicago, usually describes himself as on the Michigan Central, so many miles from Chicago. It is in this way that people now obliterate township and county lines in every practical sense—except the extra-legislative organization—divisioning the country on the lines of its economic

movement. For reasons apparent, the divisioning of the country into units of movement relative to transportation is the common division for all Classes and not alone the Transportation Class and Post Class. It is a division upon the lines of movement determined by the economics of railroad building, being the practical expression of the movement of the State.

The country thus standing out in its logical mapping, of the actual unit, we may consider the particulars of the divisional legislation of the Class. We may suppose instance of emergency legislation by certain division heads of Classes covering the Arizona fruit belt. It might be in the case of a heavy crop of peaches maturing rapidly over a wide part of the division because of unusual forcing conditions of weather. As has sometimes happened to any fruit area, the crop must either be moved rapidly in a few days or much of it will rot on the ground. It is necessary to conceive the co-operative legislation of three Classes, Distribution, Farming, and Transportation, issuing orders on the facts as they arise to them—the legislative movement, or order of action, originating in the division of one of these Classes, Distribution. It might be at the juncture in the fall when the grape growers in the east, up the Hudson and in other sections, have begun to send grapes to the market for the early consumption, a week or two ahead of full ripeness, as is the custom.

The action would be presumed as beginning with the division demand of the Distribution Class in two directions:—first, the demand on the immediate Farming division for delivery of peaches on board cars; and, second, the demand on the immediate Transportation division for extra cars. The division head of Distribution for the region we are considering is informed by local conditions and seizes the opportunity to give the far East markets and the whole country the benefit of an enormous fruitage of his division. He immediately advises the Distribution center regarding the movement he is preparing, the division head of Distribution in this legislating for the whole Distribution Class. If the National

Distribution head does not check him, negative him, it of course becomes the instant law of an emergency movement of the Distribution Class as a whole, which at once co-operates. The National Distribution center advises, among others, the Distribution division covering the Hudson River grape-belt, whose head stops the early movement of grapes and other fruit in anticipation of large arrivals of peaches. Meantime, answering the demand for delivery of fruit on board cars, the word has gone out from the divisional Farming head ordering excess time for the fruit men concerned, and in addition drafts of fruit-pickers and farm-laborers from adjoining regions have been made through their several division heads. There results a night-and-day movement of labor from as wide territory as necessary into the fruit belt needing help. In short, the division superintendent of Distribution, supported by his Class head, has set in motion the movement to the cars, and distant Distribution divisions co-operating have prepared the markets of the country. Parallel and co-operating with the regional Distribution movement, meeting the facts and demands of commerce, the Transportation head of the division like the Farming head, has issued his orders, legislated, on the emergency conditions. He has made requisition on his own region and on the center for the estimated number of cars needed, and, not negatived by his center or any portion of his Class or by the public, his emergency order, or legislation on the fact, is in effect. To the carrying forward of his order the word has gone out for whatever extra time is needed on the part of the Transportation men in his division. It may be that railroad men are doing double time to work the cars in his division; and as to extra time and other emergency requirements in regions adjoining his own, that is taken care of by the several railroad divisions co-operating with the division of their Class instigating the movement, acting on the facts. At the end of the first few hours, trainloads of peaches are on their way to the Eastern country. This makes the effectual operation of a

law originating in the division of a Class, extending to three Classes, and become the law of the Nation as endorsed, not negated, by the Whole.

Though as remotely probable as self-destruction, we may suppose that the farmers of the division which originated the action, exercising their sovereignty, begin a Negative on the movement, that is, on the law ordered by the division head, the ballot reaching a quick majority. We have now to conceive the National head of Farming negating the perverse action by sending down the order to the division to start immediate operations in the movement of the fruit, as overruling the Negative which had been voted. This would be the whole Class in its head legislating control of the division. Unless the head of Farming was negated in this by his whole Class it would be binding upon the division at fault, which would be compelled to move at once or meet the consequences of rebellion against the Class. In the untoward event we know that it is left for the Class to vote a Negative against its refractory division, outlawing it as social if we suppose that the State does not negative this vote of the Class as a body. It would then remain for the head of Farming as a whole to throw sufficient men into the field to move the peach crop as best they could. But should the whole Farming Class negative its head in his order to the refractory division to go to work then the Negative voted by the refractory division would be sustained by the Class as body, and action would be at a halt. Overruling this, if action is to be had, we should propose the instant negative by the public of this attitude of the Farming Class in sustaining its divisional infraction, the bulletins of a swift publicity working. Whereupon, immediate action on the original order, to move the fruit, becomes the mandate, or law, of the State. Farming would violate this injunction at the peril of being severed from democracy. In such hapless turn we have seen that it would become a mob against law, of which but one result can be counted, men leaning to order rather than disorder.

The movement should be still further reduced in its divisions. We have seen that the trunk running out from a regional center, which with its branches covers a triangle whose apex is the center of the region and whose base is an adjoining region, constitutes a subdivision of the grand-division, or of the division proper. Now, conceiving the branches of this radius, or trunk, to be short-line connections to the adjoining radii on either side, engineering and commercial problems of course considered, we have the grand-division constructed in plan like a spider's web. In general, this is the law of the growth of branches, trunk-lines being now connected by cross roads between important points. And continuing the partition of the territory, including the portions lying immediately on the trunk, we would reach divisions corresponding to the county and the township. These areas, named after their railroad station, or railroad section, practically as now, would circumscribe the more local movement, both the Class and the immediate public in such portions having restricted interests and action independent of the wider rules, or legislation.

Illustration of this narrower interest would be the people of a locality objecting to a clerk at the Mails counter or at the Food counter; they would negative him, voting a No to him on the Locality Battery. If his name received Negative registration equal to a majority of the voters of the town, village, or whatever local division was interested, his Class would be expected to remove him to some other locality or give him another occupation in his Class; if the circumstances required it, the employe might be graded lower, de-graded. In line with this, the people of a locality wanting more trains in suburban accommodation could negative the local train schedule. The manager of carriage for such service could then revise his schedule as he understood the demand. The significance of all is that the people as a body could control their local service. Again, the division of the Class corresponding to a locality could negative an associate on the Local Class Battery if they found him

objectionable—provided the local public did not in turn negative the local Class action, they wanting the clerk, the will of the whole public in a section of country being paramount to the will of a corresponding section of a Class. The negating of a local employe or a local rule of action would in effect be a No on the act, or legislation, of the head of the local Class division which appointed him ; and the head of a local Class division might also suffer a personal Negative by his division, displacing him. In general, any service could be negated either by the divisional Class or the divisional public, according to the region embraced.

It is to be inferred that autonomy, or sovereignty, is synonymous with the right of the License and Negative exercised by the divisions of the State, down to and including the person. But, evidently, the right of the part to free exercise of will is limited by the law of the existence of the part, namely the economic preservation of the Whole. Our observation establishes that in all cases the lesser sovereignty is subject to wider interests. The principle is that the limits of the lesser negative would be reached when it conflicted with the wider Class or wider public. The wider portion of the Class could negative both the narrower portion of the Class and its specific public ; and the wider section of the public could negative the corresponding part of the Class, and the whole public could negative the whole Class. If the wider Class cannot negative both the local Class and the local public, then the Whole has no effective instrument in the Class as unit. And, further, the proposition, obviously true, is that the whole Class, as representing the whole public, can only be finally negated by the State as a whole. The law is that the wider action may revise the narrower, as standing for the union of both. It is the principle of majority rule.

In general it should be counted that in practice the formal ballot in negation tends to infrequent exercise rather than otherwise. It is the certainty and abso-

luteness of its employment against flagrant inability or injustice that makes its active use less called for. In proportion as we have an efficient police force, for instance, there is less need of exercising its power. Men come to recognize the integrity of the organization of which they are a part, their own integrity rising in proportion. Men instinctively proceed to organize their personal conduct and art upon the plane of the general organization.

Aside from the formal ballot of negation and tending to lessen the frequency of its use is that very effective negation against the unsatisfactory which is the feelings or preferences of people informally expressed by running opinion or in the commercial demand. If people do not like a mail clerk or a teacher he is practically frozen out of the community without resort to any formal proceeding. The adverse attitude of even a minority of the people against a given act or personality has the natural tendency of a corrective. And we see around us how the preferences of people, shaping as the commercial demand, tend to regulate trade. If people dislike a kind of food or a kind of dress goods it does not need a formal negative to express their disfavor; they simply refuse to buy them. The reserve power in the possibility of a formal negative by ballot tends to enhance all these conditions.

The Constitution, as formal record of organic law, is a specific report by News of the principles constituting the State as action at any juncture ; such a report not negatived by the State stands as the basic proceeding, or fundamental law, until negatived through action by outleading movement of some Class as acquiesced in by the State. We seek to get the truth of this in the constitutional development of democracy. The Declaration of Independence has its reality as a report by the man of letters in the person of Thomas Jefferson on the state of action of the country in 1776. Touching this, it needs to be said that letters had come to consciousness of an outmoving by the people under the inception of their leaders. This

was the negating of that older order of procedure represented in George III. That is, it was negation in the actual by the outmoving in new action. The mental status of the people at any juncture as turning against old conditions in the formulation of new principles of action, though it may not yet have attained externalized institutions, is, of course, to be reckoned as the inception of action. Obviously, such was the outworking of the new consciousness in America that the man of letters discerned its actualities in the minds of the people. The Declaration of Independence must thus be seen as the more formal report in writing of the *constitution* of action as promulgated by the representative men of letters of the time. The latter were virtually the Cabinet of News, holding session in the State House at Philadelphia. For, any representative body formed in whole or in part of the students of the times and assembled to make outgiving, or formulary, in democracy must be seen to have its reality in the notion of the Cabinet of News, by whatever name called. The negation by the people of the declaration of 1776, as utterance of organic law, including the "Articles of Federation" hinging upon it, meant then the head of every signer, as forfeit to the King's malady. If the people at the time of the Declaration of Independence had shaped no more in their minds, we at least know that they had turned against the lamentable conditions of non-representative government. They had reached a phase of negation in their experience by which consciousness turns upon old conditions as intolerable. The state of action of the people at that time, if the least is to be said, was that they did not want any more George III. But we know that they had turned in positive consciousness to a representative government. They purposed having voice in formulating their rules. The validity of discernment, the news sense, by the Cabinet of News at Philadelphia was borne out by the Revolutionary War, which was the affirmative attitude of the people on the utterance of this report of News by its Cabinet. Yorktown was a last act in the drama of its acceptance by the people, of

their refusal to negative it. A decade afterwards the News Cabinet, in the shape of the Constitutional Convention assembled at Philadelphia, took stock of the state of action of democracy and formally published as principles of action the Constitution as in portion operative to-day. In it they incorporated certain conditions of representative government which, as the new action of the people, had transcended what had been the organic rules previous to 1776. We recount some items of the publishment.

We note that it provided the machinery for the future negating of the organic rules of action by the people when it should be their experience, that is, the constitution of their action. The reference is to the provision in the Constitution for its revision. News wrote this as being a primary principle of representative government. But, of course, this rule of proceeding was impaired, or impeded, through the cumbersome and obstructive legislative body—a condition of those years, as now. That is, if the people wanted to negative a given law or action they had to turn out an incumbent legislative body and put in a new one. Or, if they moved through a Constitutional Convention this had in proceeding to be on the general plan of the legislative body. But we see that in reality, as residual rights, cumbersome as the machinery was, the state of action as set forth in the Convention of 1787 had come to be that the people could negative, that is, change at will, any rule or action having expression as Constitution.

In the further utterance on the principles of action by the Cabinet of News in 1787, we see that the State had negated the perpetuative support of large standing armies. News wrote down that no appropriation of money for the use of armies should be for a longer term than two years. They wrote also that the state of action had negated *ex post facto* law and bill of attainder. They set forth that the habeas corpus, as proceeding of the judiciary, should not be suspended in time of peace. And they perforce said that the State had not yet transcended certain forms of slavery. The state of action

had not yet negatived such slavery and so they could not write down a change in it. News was obliged to be faithful to its business and write, that no person held to service and labor in one state should be freed if he entered another state, but might be returned to the master from whom he had escaped. Again, the state of action in the organization of the Classes was so little advanced at that time that the Cabinet of News in its outgiving provided for post offices and post roads through the extra-legislative body—the Congress. The promulgation similarly provided the organization of the judiciary, writing that the Congress should create certain tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court. There was discerned, further, a general executive, who should provide heads of Classes and take other process on advice given him by technical and local knowledge. The President was defined in his powers: to appoint head of post office and fill its subordinate offices, fill the judiciary, etc., and to initiate action in certain phases of the State which required movement through a central head, and for which the organization of democracy in its Classes did not otherwise provide, as of the army and navy.

Following the formulation of this piece of news it was submitted to the people for their acceptance of it; that is, it was published. Not being negatived by the people it became the organic law, affording unity of consciousness and guiding all Classess in democracy.

The reality of the affirmative vote on this publication by News is that the people were given the opportunity to negative it; that is, waiting upon their affirmative or negative vote was in effect submitting it to their Negative. The affirmative vote could well have gone without saying, were organization sufficiently along to afford a machinery for the simple Negative, did the people so view it, on the proceeding that if a man does not object he affirms.

We pass along in our study of the Constitutional development, coming to a striking negative of that older action which was affirmed in the promulgation of 1787.

This is the negative, by outmoving action in the State, of that portion of the old Constitution relative to slavery. We find in the fifties, of this century, that the action of democracy had transcended this. The people everywhere, outside of a particular section of the country, were organizing for the liberation of the slaves and were in open opposition to that clause of the Constitution which required escaped slaves to be returned to their masters. By 1860 they were much negating slavery in their action, and it was because of the growing consciousness making outmoving by the State that the slaveholders sought to break away from the conditions that were thus engulfing them. Mr. Lincoln at every turn in his speeches and proclamations may be considered as giving utterance to the Cabinet of Letters of his day. A portion of this Cabinet was nominally a legislative body, but still men of letters as students of the conditions of the time. And as really a part of this Cabinet, however they were regarded, we see such active publicists, or newsmen, as Mr. Greeley and Mr. Beecher urging given facts or conditions upon Mr. Lincoln. The President's delay in the promulgation of the Emancipation Proclamation must be recognized here as a study by men of letters as to whether the pronouncement was warranted. The question that confronted them was whether the country had yet got to this position, that is, whether the country would sustain the promulgation and not negative it. News weighed conditions to a truthful conclusion. The Proclamation, or News outgiving, as finally issued and sustained by the people became the organic law, though not for some time incorporated into the recognized Constitution of the country. The succeeding amendments of the instrument, led by Charles Sumner and others, as men of letters, were the additional formal publications by News as to principles of action then existing. The acceptance of the 14th and 15th amendments by the states has its reality in the fact that these later outgivings were acquiesced in by the people.

In looking over the movement that led up to the Civil

War we define the utterance of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott Decision as coming from a false letters, as regards the state of action of the country. The people refused to accept the decision and ignored it in their action, in practice negating it. The same may be said of other phases of false utterance by letters, nominal or otherwise, which the people would not accept.

An astute and able letters in times of great overturning does not easily risk amendments that are doubtful as to the state of action, as witnessed in the tardy outgiving of the Emancipation Proclamation by Mr. Lincoln and his advisers, and, the years of discussion and delay by students, or newsmen, of the time preceding 1776.

At the present time there is going forward in the State a strenuous conflict between old and new conditions. We discern a deep outmoving in the new, going to transcend the rules of older action. In the Constitutional utterance more nearly succeeding '76 the organic law in many ways left open and incomplete the formulation of the principle of the subordination of the individual by the Whole. It wrote down rules making prominent narrow forms of action which in the fuller development of the State have to be readjusted on the lines of the wider interest. These are comprehended in the notion of private holdings as operating against use for the Whole, so long the underlying rule of action. The changes in the Constitution have been continuously in the direction of adjusting the private interest,—moving it toward common equity. The Emancipation Proclamation and the 14th and 15th amendments were this. In looking at these, we see that the development of the interest of the whole people had come in 1860 to demand restriction in the holdings of human flesh. The developments more immediately growing out of the Civil War have their reality in a change of the concept of private property which the writers of the Constitution of 1787 had not yet found actual in the State. By them the black man was held to be property. The conflict of present action in democracy, at the close of the century, is in effect a movement to

negative the Constitution in ways not seen as action at the time of the Civil War and in the years immediately following, from Lincoln to Sumner. We are approaching the further reduction in the concept of property.

It may be said touching the present Constitution as statement of action, that the Cabinet of Letters, meaning by that the students of the situation, find conflict among themselves as to the later utterance which should bring News abreast of action. In the present disorganization of letters, as in the past, it is not easy to get unified utterance. At the Chicago railroad strike, in '94, the newspapers, standing for the machine of publicity, were divided in their utterance over the advisability of giving out statements subjugating the private interest to the interest of the State as a whole. Some declared the constitution of action to be that arbitration was essential to the effectual order of things, thus subjecting the private holdings; while others spoke counter to the restriction of the private interest, declaring against compulsory arbitration.

But it is to be said that the ground men of letters, in the advance students of economics, including some judges of the courts, have seen arbitration as the necessity of action; they have seen the private interest in the new order, as compelled to submit to disposition of its holdings by a jury as agency of the Whole. So far as the unattached students, remote from control of the big publications and barred from a full publicity, can get hold of the machine of utterance he has made outgiving of the new principles to the world. Of the same reality, Judge Caldwell in the West, sitting in his Court, adjusted the differences between the Central Pacific employees and the Receivers of the road, and so far published arbitration as the order of the State. With his handing down he enunciated the principle of the new rule of organic law. In sustaining the claim of the men that their wages could not be reduced if they were to give proper service to the public, the Judge declared with no indirectness that the general interest was paramount. He said that returns

on the bonds of the road, the private interest, was a lesser matter and must take its chances as secondary to efficient operation of the road, a factor of which was a living wage for the employee. Marking great insight, utterance is so far shaping in Kansas that, as letters, the leaders of the dominant party of that state have raised the dictum that *use*, or function, must have priority over mere ownership, as fundamental proceeding in democracy. Certain men of letters of the Universities, however veiled their diction, have for some time been giving public utterance through their classes and in some of the prints to the notion of the further restriction of the private interest. On the part of the daily press, the *New York Journal* has gone so far in speaking for the interest of the Whole, as against the extreme private concept of property, that it has attracted criticism of what might be called the false and undiscerning letters. The *Journal* has spoken of the necessity for restriction of contract or other private action within lines dictated by the public welfare. Where the press does not lead out in the advancing consciousness of the State, as standing for new Constitutional utterance, it is well known to be because of its restraint by the private interest through its counting-room. Such tardiness is hardly attributable in any free sense to News.

Thus, letters is now writing the new Constitution, and but for the conflicting cries and inhibition by the private interest, in its death-struggle now on, it would be practically before the people in some scope and subject to their Negative as to whether it should attain. In fact, in the National election of 1896, the new Constitution, marked in part by change of concepts in such utterances as the Chicago platform, was, with what measure might be, put before the people. And notwithstanding the adverse conditions of the man of letters, through a disorganized publicity, not possessing his own machine, it was negated by scarcely a majority; as elsewhere noted, New York and Pennsylvania left out of the list, as locating most strongly the intrenched private interest, the

vote of the country was even. Foregoing any assertion as to the clearness of sight by the people in new action in sustaining Mr. Bryan, as representing an outleading, it may safely be stated that they have so far moved out in their action as to turn upon old conditions; they want less taxing of the many for enrichment of the few.

And regarding growth of publishment touching the fundamentals of rising action in the state it may be seen that the virile letters, representing the students of the times everywhere, is strenuously and hourly at work formulating the underlying truths of conditions which have their meaning in new concepts of organic procedure in the State. The expanding flow of writings going to raise the new ideas gives the view that letters is persistent in formulating the new Constitution as report of change of consciousness, and so of procedure, in democracy. And the succeeding elections for the coming decades will sustain or reverse such promulgation.

We thus bring into relief the reality of the Constitution in its creation and its mode of formulation as written document, with the method of its change, or amendment. We gather that it is action extraordinary, or overturning, affecting the organization of the State, that creates the Constitution. And that News, as of its daily business of publicity, under title of "Constitution," gives sensible and formal utterance to this advance in an underlying statement of method—that News as cerebrum brings to formal consciousness the body politic. While, the method of the change, or amendment, of the written instrument is that it has to be revised by News as formal report, under "Constitution," with each advance or modification of action in the State. And if such promulgation by News at any time is not accepted by the people, they using their machinery of Negation, then it is a falsity as touching the state of action, and News is called upon, as of its regular function of truth-giving, to revise its too early announcement. Which is to say that, in event of error in its publication, News has to correct itself by such knowledge as it has gained of the state of action

through sight quickened by a reversal from the people.

The executives, or heads, of the different Classes, taken together make the chief executive of democracy. If each represents the chief executive in his division of the State, together they must represent the chief executive of the whole.

This aggregate of executive is only called upon to act as a body where there is lack of some arm of the State through an organ being outlawed or otherwise non-existent. If the State has no special organ in some direction it must act relative to the need through its more qualified, or more widely representative, agency, namely, its chief executive, or majority of its heads of service. That is, the chief executive acts in conference, or body, according to the indications for normal process of State. When the executive action is better had through a specific arm they do not act in a body as usurping skilled labor. But when action can only be had through conference of the chief body of executive then they act as such. The specific agent in some direction being lacking, the indications are for initiation of action through a widely representative conference, as of executive heads of Classes. The process can only be the appointing of an executive for the arm lacking, that filling indications. As possessing free license in his field, this executive assumes the technical work of organizing his Class, subject to negative by the people. All this is seen as provision of the fundamental law, or Constitution, when formally presented by letters and accepted by democracy.

The "politician" in his aspect of the tactful manager of policies and situations becomes the practical leader, or adjuster, of men. He can so manipulate and relate points of difference in the action of individuals that they attain to unity of operation as a body. This organizing and mollifying instinct, or leadership, belongs to every phase of life as inherent in the operative commerce. With the

passing away of the older forms of legislation the tactician wholly reduces to factor in the industrial organization. In the extra-legislative era he has had to personally present the facts of life to men in such a way that they should bear forcibly home on them, compelling them to action in the line of their self-interest. In his reduction to full industry he still has to do this in the sense of the tactful direction and ordering of men. The so-called business manager of to-day, in so far as he is efficient in personal touch with men, represents this enduring leadership in organization. And "politics" in this aspect is seen to reduce to the practical management of men.

Leadership can not be regarded as having place set apart in industrial action. It does not find a distinct Class, but belongs to the distinction of action which is the capable management of men in every class. The leader goes by the facts of the construction of life precisely as a machinist does, except that his action is seen to relate to the adjustment and operative balance of men. He is in active contact with affairs as skillful in allaying complaints and in coalescing differences, being able to so present situations and conditions to men that he reduces the friction of their association. Like the machinist he does not always get a perfect adjustment, but he is so far practical that the organization is said, in one view, to be operative through him. He is often able in personal contact to convict men of absurdities without offending them to passion. He practices leadership by reason of ably directing men in the politic course for their adoption. He is found all the way from the more complicated to the less complicated place in any organization, as under the old conditions of the extraneous legislation we have the so-called political manager for a nation, state, and county, down to the ward man who is able to keep his adherents in line in a neighborhood. We may find the leader in some railroad man managing track construction and repair ; he is associate with a division head having under direction a number of section gangs. As

manager he has technical knowledge of construction. But as partition of labor with the more able engineer he sees this and that man who has complaints and is able so to present the case under the governing rules that the man goes away satisfied that the thing can not well be improved and is not so bad as he thought. He may so question the man as to convict him of absurdities on his own showing. Suppose a foreman of a section gang thinks that his section ought to be shortened some on account of certain hardships in its surface, apparently making it conform more nearly to some adjoining section; the shrewd leader by questioning brings out for him the good side of his section and at the same time contrasts the features he complains of with features also complained of in an adjoining section. The mollified foreman may go back to his work satisfied that he and his companions are as well placed as most men. Again, in the management of a large manufactory working a thousand hands there is a partition of labor which hears personal complaints and, where they are evidently just, orders their correction; or, finding the complaints unjust, the leader seeks to have men self-convict themselves of absurdities on their own statements, similar to that of the section foreman.

In the adjustment of men in what may be supposed a less reachable situation, like the Cabinet of News, there is the man, possibly as chief of Cabinet, or associate with him, who is able to present matters in such a mollified light that friction among the members is at the minimum. In the Constitutional Convention of 1789 Benjamin Franklin was such a man. At one juncture he addressed to the Convention the hope that they understood that they were not there for the purpose of assertion, but for the purpose of adjusting differences through an attitude of inquiry. Yet one must see, as with the Supreme Court at the present time, that men of large reach find the fact in degree its own adjuster, its own mollifier, though its form be less happy. While, observation shows that in the movement of life, from high to low, the facts everywhere con-

trol. Men have the attitude of truth and submit to it in the larger sum of their action. The worst of his kind as manipulator in the extraneous-legislation, now decaying, will hardly go before the country without making up his case in reason, as bearing upon the juster interests of people.

It may be said in final view that the leader is the many-sided man, or woman, who by ready presentment happily mollifies diversity and antagonisms through the controlling fact.

The statesman places as phase of the newsman, as having the discernment and the principle fitting the action of the times. In this view, his chief place would be reckoned the Cabinet of Letters, though we may suppose he would be found in other places in the organization of News where discernment and grasp of far-reaching conditions were as second-nature to him. We might be disposed to say of the head of a News Division that he has the stature of the statesman.

The question of the moral direction of the individual through legislative enactment, or prohibition. We have to see that this is a form of the negation of the individual which is at present organically operative in the legislation, or rule-making, of the Classes. Wherever industry is advanced in organization there has grown up the rule against intoxication or physical impairment through dissipation of any kind. If we look at transportation, we find on efficient roads the most stringent general orders, or rules, against dissipation by employes. On the Vanderbilt and Pennsylvania systems, notably, there are general orders directed against "rounders," that is, against men who habitually waste the night, whether or not they drink heavily in going the rounds of the town. These orders state that should it come to the knowledge of the management that a man is doing this extendedly, disregarding of his bodily powers, it will be considered a sufficient cause for removal. And in the railroad service

employees are prohibited from drinking intoxicants while on duty or before going on duty. The same stringent regulations prevail in the mail service. And it is well-known that managers in all lines of business discriminate against men who use intoxicants to any excess. The order against the rounder, as the later outgrowth of organization, evinces that the tendency in industry is toward greater stringency on these lines. We thus see prohibition against self-injurious action by the individual working itself out in the growing organism.

This insight affords the opportunity for workers on these so-called reform lines to take counsel whether their cause is not best served by turning their efforts directly upon the organization of the State. For every Class that can be advanced in any degree in its organization we have in so far an operative and normal prohibition against dissipation in such section of the State. And it is the advance on conservative lines. Could the so-called temperance workers gain this view they must come to turn their forces of reform upon the most feasible and popular out-leading in organization. Their whole machinery would at once become a propaganda of the referendum and government ownership. Miss Willard gave evidence the other day of how close to the reality we can be and not see it. She spoke of visiting the principal English cable station and finding the operatives working under stringent orders against the use of intoxicants. Here was the "temperance" advocate face to face with the accomplishment of the cause which is so much to her and all lovers of order. Here was prohibition attained. Miss Willard found this only an illustration of the *desirability* of prohibition of drink. But people less object to normal and organic prohibition. What they more object to is a rigid and unpliable enactment not having clear economic basis in the State. The illustration which the reform advocate might find in the incident, rather than what was found, is the need of bringing all industry up to the plane of organization in the cable office. This is the injunction to all such workers to throw themselves

upon the moving forces making for the moral whole—the ordered and integrate commerce. It is the injunction to all good lives to sit still for a day and inquire whether they are working in unison with the great forces, asking what command the infinite Will has for them, that they may rise to lend a direct hand in the gathering order—the organization of the Class.

The same truth in various forms and degrees applies to all the detached vehicles of propagation to negative, or reform. Two of these which seem to call for special interpretation are the “woman suffrage” and the “single tax.” The first proposes to educate the people up to the plane of woman suffrage. But this specific state of mind by the masses favoring woman suffrage hinges upon a general openness, or intelligence, among men. On their own showing the woman suffragists bear out this view. They aver that people of larger intelligence do not need to be talked to about giving the ballot to women; that all such regard it as a matter of course; that the people who object to woman suffrage are the hide-bound people, or, in other words, people with very little contact or intercourse with life. There is an instance that illustrates the conditions of advance here. A certain individual who had spent much of his life in a narrow round, going and coming in his daily work, but having no movement beyond this, had very set notions against giving the ballot to woman. This man went to the World’s Fair at Chicago, traveling a thousand miles. In time, after his return home, some reference to the ballot for women being made he showed a modified temper on the subject, declaring that he saw no objection. The explanation of this is that the action of life had so beaten in upon him that it resulted in a mental openness and pliability; stringent views were softened. People thrown against the current of life tend to have their exaggerations reduced. It is the old formula that knowledge, in the sense of pliancy and normal view, is conditioned by movement through contact with life. With universal five-cent fares in vogue for a year or two it does not

seem too much to expect that a large majority of the voters of America would regard woman suffrage as a matter of course. We should thus look for the greatest results in this field of reform through advance in this one direction in the organization of the Class. The fuller conditions considered, it would seem that the speediest canvass for the extension of the ballot would be for the woman suffrage organization to turn in upon the referendum, with government ownership of railroads and the minimum universal fare,—treating the suffrage question as a matter of course and speaking of it as the incident in the leading canvass.

The “single tax” as a present shape in reform falls down in its logic when it fails to put into its premise the reality of taxation. The underlying reality of tax is the cost price on production. This can only be fixed and collected on the article itself. The tax in question presupposes a communistic, or public, treasury, as at present obtaining. We see that there is organically no place for this. The proposition for a cumulative tax on a single production or, the same thing, on a single instrument of production, through the communistic treasury, fails at the vital point. The permanent movement is away from the cumulative and communistic tax on circumscribed production, and toward the single tax, or single cost price, on each article. If the “single tax” notion has permanent validity, then the organic exchange is an impossibility and we are doomed to the communistic chaos in taxation at present prevailing. The *organic* single tax is seen to be the single cost price on each article of commerce. The post office charge of one price at cost for one production, or service, is the sufficient showing of this the valid single tax.

CHAPTER XIV

THE POLICE : THE NEGATIVE ADMINISTRATION

The "judiciary," "executive," "military" and "police" are embraced in the one general order-keeping function—the Police Class. The judiciary appears as head, or controlling side. This is evident when we see that the law determines action in this Class and that the lawyer, or court, is the organizer of the law. This is the existing practice. For instance, the warrant of arrest is issued by the judiciary. The guilt or innocence of a prisoner or the validity of any charge is determined by the judicial process. Also, the penalty is executed on the order of the court. And, the nominal police service, as subject to the court, virtually includes army and navy, as process of arrest of disorder through to insurrection or invasion. Arrest of insurrection or of an invading army is but arrest of more formidable infringement than arrest for theft. They are both directed against the integrity of the State, differing only in force. We see that in times of insurrection and riot the militia, as army, is mobilized on the demand of the sheriff as officer of the court. And if the Governor or the President sets in motion the military arm it is after forms of law and as subject to the will of the court, that is, as subject to the legal fact, of which the court is the final determining agent. Thus the whole arm of the military as the fuller Police connects with the judiciary as head. In so far as the National troops or the militia now find their head nominally in the National executive of the country the Police may be seen as short of full organization. But with the logical development of things the whole military arm as order-keeping service comes under the direction of the Police head, the National Chief Jus-

tice, or Police-general. The general commanding the army in the field is subject to him as now to the President.

The present executive branch of government in its final reduction is of the order-keeping function belonging to the Police, and presents no distinctions apart from the latter. With the progress of the State it is discovered that the executive is not peculiar to any phase but belongs equally to the organizing head of each Class. It is in the absence of the attainment of an executive head in certain Classes that the executive function is assumed by a head general to several Classes or parts of Classes.

In remote times the king as executive head made all laws, or technical rules of action, and was intimate through his various agents with their direct execution. Himself or his near hand entered into all technical directions governing the life of the State. Through attaches of the king's house the laws were laid down for the peculiar pattern of weapons and other accoutrements of war. The arrow and spear were prescribed in weight, length and shape. The king told the construction, equipping and manning of the boats. The highways were built in lines and paths described by his immediate counsel. The carrying of the king's mail was directed by the king and his body personal. He directed the planting of corn, its garnering and housing. He prescribed dress and rites. Thus the older executive entered into each technical process of his time. But with the extension of life the movement has been away from this general supervision, or execution. Specialization of industry is the development away from a general executive head to a special executive for each arm of the State. With the rise of motor and the growth of transportation the king no longer acts the executive in the problems of engineering belonging to the highways, with their bore through mountains and their spanning of waterways and valleys. With the advance beyond the tom-tom the one head of State no longer assumes to prescribe and direct the symphony. This has been taken from the king by its technical head, the mu-

sical executive. Last, when we come to look through this development at the general executive process of democracy in each of its gradations we see that it retains nothing but action peculiar to the execution of the peace-keeping function. In examining this disappearance of the general executive and its reduction to order-keeping, or Police, we trace it from the simplest general executive, the village president, up to the National executive, the President.

The president of the village has the execution of certain public works, like the highways, and in addition has to do with the execution of the public peace, or order. In carrying out the former he appoints a commissioner of streets after the rules laid down by the local legislative board. But his knowledge of the highways or other public works is not necessarily technical and he goes usually on the say of men who have knowledge of these things. His execution of this side of his office is thus without basis in fact, it having virtually gone over to the technician. On the other side, he appoints and directs the marshal, the single police officer of the village. In this the village president places subordinate to the legal aspect of the Police. For, on questions of doubt as to his rule of action he consults the local lawyer who is accredited the corporation attorney, virtually taking orders from him. Thus we find the local Police head, or judicial function, absorbing the valid side of the local executive.

Coming to the mayor of the city, we see him as an enlargement of the village president, having to do with the execution of more extensive public works and a larger police. In his appointment of different commissioners of public works, as street construction, street cleaning and the commissioner of public buildings, he has no more quality of technical function than has the village president. He simply delegates to this and that technical man his executive office in some particular. The mayor is not the executive of engineering in the local water supply. The real executive of this is the engineer whom he

appoints, the mayor being but a perfunctory agent of the people for licensing such executive. And this is precisely true with any other branch of public works. The mayor if he have any executive function at all thus reduces to the city order-keeper. And here he is subordinate to the legal aspect of the Police: in matters of doubtful action he goes by the direction of the city attorney.

Looking at the "governor" of the state, the same truth holds. He is delegated the power to appoint, or license, technical executives in various public lines. He appoints the commissioner of railways, the board of asylums, etc. These offices so far as they are efficient go to technical men, reducing the governor's executive part to the control of the peace-keeping machinery, the sheriffs, the prisons, the militia, etc. But here he settles to the Police through acting essentially under the direction of his attorney general.

Reaching now the National executive we find that he differs from the lesser executives only in scope or detail and not in principle. We find him delegating his executive office to various technical heads. Important among these is the postal executive who, in reality of execution, is the National Superintendent of mails,—the postmaster-general, as we have seen, being an obstructive figure-head and controlled by the practical man. On the side of the statesman, we have observed that the President's function is taken by News. If he possess statecraft in commanding degree he would be a member of the News Cabinet. Finally, what is left of the President in his executive force appears in his judicial appointments and his office relative to the National peace guard, the army and navy. In the former he is but giving license to the technical head of Police, while in the latter he goes by the direction of his attorney general and the courts in their interpretation of the will of the people. The President's question in all peace regulations is as to whether the Supreme Court will sustain his action. We thus find the executive function in the President brought

down to National order-keeping in the aspect of the Police, and, like the governor of the state, the mayor of the city and the president of the village, so far as he has police qualities he is absorbed by the Police Class, placing, with the others, either on the judicial or else on the military side of this body.

We have to realize that the organized State gives over to the Police, as skilled labor, the administration of the Negative, or law, under those conditions of economy in which it is technical to this body. It is presumed that the State delegates to the Police initiative in arrest of harmful action when such arrest is the province of the Police field, the same as it delegates initiative to other Classes in their particular lines. So far as a statute of Negation by the Police is acquiesced in by the State it becomes law ; but so far as the people negative the Police a statute is void. And so far as this body does not of its own initiative rise to the arrest of harmful action it is impelled to such arrest by popular expression of Negation directed to the evil. It must then provide generic rule for administering the Negative decreed by the State. Refusing to so execute the will of the Whole, the Police Class is *prima facie* in insurrection and cut off from the State, the other Classes refusing commerce with it and proceeding to reorganize the Police through the joint conference and initiative of the several Class executives, or heads.

Pursuantly, we find that each of the different Classes, making the State as a whole, gives over to the Police, as division of labor, the Negative on injurious action which is not technical to itself or, on the other hand, that may be regarded as technical to the Police. The Negative that is peculiar to each Class properly comes within its own essential proceeding as technical operation. For instance, the negation of a member of transportation through his managing head degrading him for some deficiency is peculiarly technical to transportation. There could be no economy in the latter making division of labor with a Class like the Police, ignorant of the requirements, which should presume to say when a workman is

equal to his place. Such a case would lie in the technical knowledge of the man in charge of immediate action. Nor can the transportation body give over its fuller technical Negative, as of its essential internal adjustment, to a Class having no possible knowledge of the conditions. For instance, the essential adjustment relative to the degraded member lies with the body of the Transportation Class. The man in immediate charge of the situation is responsible to a given division of the body of transportation in which he works and, of course, ultimately to the higher head in transportation and the whole transportation body. If a workman is aggrieved in his treatment by a supervising head it can best be remedied in the probity and good sense of his fellow workmen who coming to find that they have an untempered head may negative him. So that, in fine, the workman ultimately has his case adjusted by the judgment of his fellow workmen, who virtually sit as material jury upon the facts. Without further enlarging, we conclude that in none of the operations of the Negative involving processes peculiar and technical to a Class would the Police have a part.

But there may be injurious action in the Class on the part of its agents, or individual members, in which the machinery for administering Negation is so complicated and the method of reaching results so peculiar that it is necessarily given over to a Class exercising a certain general administration of Negation. Thus, murder may occur in any Class as outside of economic process. It must be summarily negated. The rules of proceeding on evidence and its deduction are such that it becomes technical in itself. Similarly, we have other offences technical to the Police and given over to it, as rape, arson, forgery, larceny, etc. This practice, as with all development in the State, has in much worked itself out, and what is now given over to the Police will in the main continue to be given over to it under any advance in organization.

Divorce, marriage, bigamy, etc., are given over to the Police. Proceedings in arrest of bigamy, etc., are readily

seen as of the administration of the Negative technical to the Police, while divorce is clearly the Negative of marriage. And we may see that the marriage process, or the issuing of a paper creating or attesting marriage, is but the making of records belonging to the needs of this particular line of Negation. It is the provision of advantage in evidence pertaining to the Negative of a disorder in the State. It is a method of collecting evidence which cannot otherwise be had. For, in asserting the Negative against bigamy the marriage certificate is a part of the showing. Again, it is of the process of precluding, or negating beforehand, marriage of blood or other incompetents. And the marriage record must underlie the action for divorce.

The jury is technical to the Police and has its membership in this body. The indications pointing to this are, first, the widespread dissatisfaction with the jury gathered promiscuously from any part of industry, and, second, the tendency of the Police to select men having a leaning for weighing evidence and casting judicial conditions.

The movement must be away from the weighing of evidence by a body of men ignorant of the method of proceeding in trials of justice and unqualified for the reception of fact. The jury and the judge have their technical quality in openness and grasp responding to evidence as it presents.

The advocate is technical to the Police as special pleader in trial of evidence. The advocate appears to find permanent place in court in the need of fullness in presenting cause. Of two men in dispute one may be more skillful in relating his side of the case. The skilled attorney for each side levels this inequality. A man charged with an offense may need the help of skill in drawing out evidence in order that his full cause may be presented, while against this the cause of State should have its special pleader. There must be the test of truth applied to evidence. This test is in the art of cross-examination. It is at its best in an advocate employed on one or the other side of a case. Altogether, the advocate

special to a cause develops as a division of labor with the judge and jury in the process of extracting fact.

The indications of practice here are in the custom of the court in appointing an attorney where one side lacks in the trial of case. On this indication the ultimate practice must be that the court assigns counsel to each side of a cause or provides equable rule securing counsel to each side. It may provide that the prosecution and the defense each select their own counsel, as is logically the custom at present.

The Negative administration has its proceeding after the general method of the injunction. The injunction is in principle the formal Negative of the State extended in executive mandate, or enforcing arm, the Police. We have seen that the rule-making governing the industry, or operation, of any Class is legislation, or statute-making, devised on the requirements of the case—either fitting emergency conditions or else making the settled and permanent rules of the Class. In the Police Class this includes all writs, statutes, etc., devised by it for enforcing Negation of harmful action in the State, through to statute and warrant of arrest and jailing of offender. A writ denying, or forbidding, certain action in the emergency sense is one of principle with the permanent statute providing arrest, or Negation, by jailing. And a warrant of arrest for bringing to court or jailing is but legislation, or rule, of efficiency within, or promoting, the statute as an injunction. The warrant of arrest is the enforcing provision of any form of stay. While, in general, a permanent statute is in essence a permanent injunction. It is all arrest, or injunction, of action, differing only in the detail requirements of the case. It may thus be said that every form of Police proceeding carries as its reality the exigency of the writ of injunction.

If on negative by the State the action forbidden is desisted in then the executive arm rests, having no case. But unreasonable infraction adverse to the known or formally expressed will of the State calls for the enjoining, or enforcing, arm. Its process is a summary writ of

Negation against the offending agents, amounting to writ of outlawry, or executive injunction, of the privileges of citizenship. The injunction holds until satisfied under the rule, or statute, of the Police, the lightest of which provides the simple ceasing of the forbidden action. But when the proper execution of arrest and the security or other demand of the public call for it the process of the injunction is extended to the immediate jailing of the offender, to serve his penalty, on proof of offense, under the Police statute provided. Such is murder, assault, larceny, arson, etc., and acts of persistence after any writ of Negation, or injunction. And in case of formidable insurrection or invasion the attempt is to arrest outlawry by wholesale process of war. Offenses like murder, larceny, etc., placing within the permanent statutes, or continuing writs, of the Police are under perpetual ban, or standing injunction. These do not require specific writ, or notice of outlawry, other than the warrant of arrest, according to the statutes as fixed general rule. All this is the logic of the various degrees and forms of the existing injunction, meaning all present rules of Police, or "judicial," proceeding. It must essentially continue after the current forms, subject to the modifications which advancing organization and experience may bring.

The injunction is thus synonymous with the virile Negative. As such its final force lodges with the people. The fault with the injunction of the present day is that the people cannot in turn directly reach the judge with *their* No—that injunction which sweeps away bribes and levels interests.

The proceeding of Police is subject to the recognized safeguards now built up around it, and what else experience may dictate. It is amenable to parole, or bail, to habeas corpus and to the principle of generic and non ex post facto in the statute, or injunction. Parole exists in the right of citizenship, or liberty, until offense is proved. The prisoner hypothecates his citizenship as guarantee of appearance at trial. Failure to appear is an act of outlawry in itself and a penal offense. But parole

does not exist where the offense charged is capital, or likewise grave, since the public can have no guarantee of safety to life with such a person at large. The habeas corpus exists in the right of process, that a person may not suffer abridgement of liberty without proof, parole, etc.

Property in the Police Class. This shapes as the functional control, or use, of the court houses, the jails, armories, arsenals, forts, war vessels and all instruments of police execution. The Police tax for service at cost. Each Class pays monthly to the comptroller of Police a lump sum pro rata to its membership, that is, according to the number of individuals who employ the service.

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Ethical, philosophical, religious and economic societies, debating and reform clubs, bodies of research in general, classes in ethic, philosophy, economics, etc., are asked to make debate and criticism of the various sections of the Report.

* * *

The Report is designed to compass sufficient of the social divisions and the involved questions to convey the general organism. Where there should be wanted considerations touching other sections and questions or where there should be wanted additional touching particulars already dealt with, it may be supplied in answer to specific questions directed to THE NEWS OFFICE. A fee of ten cents as clerk hire, rent, etc., is charged for each point asked. Postage should be added.

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